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L E T T E R S  
FROM  
*A M E R I C A,*  
HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE;  
COMPRISING  
O C C U R R E N C E S  
FROM 1769, TO 1777, INCLUSIVE.

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BY  
*W I L L I A M E D D I S,*  
LATE SURVEYOR OF THE CUSTOMS, &c. AT  
ANNAPOLIS, IN MARYLAND.

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PER VARIOS CASUS. VIRG.

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L O N D O N:  
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## INTRODUCTION.

**I**F an apology for the publication of these Letters be thought as necessary by the readers as it is by the author, he has only to say, and, however hackneyed such excuse may be considered, he can say it with great truth, that his appearance in print is more owing to the suggestion of some partial friends, than to his own intentions.

The author arrived on the American continent in the year 1769, and settled at Annapolis, under the patronage and protection of the then governor of Maryland: from his situation there, he became intimately acquainted with the leading characters of every party in that province, and with every event which occurred subsequent to his own arrival, until the unfor-

## INTRODUCTION.

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fortunate misunderstanding, which arose between the parent state and the colonies, rendered it impossible for every one, like him sincerely and steadily attached to the former, to continue in the country.

What he saw and observed from the first period of his residence there, he occasionally communicated to his friends in England; and as he had the opportunity of seeing, and observing much, it has been conceived by some respectable characters, for whose judgment he has the greatest deference, that the correspondence originally intended for private amusement only, contained matter sufficiently interesting to engage the attention of the public.

The former part of these letters will be found to give a description of the country, government, trade, manners, and customs of the inhabitants; the latter, the  
rise

## INTRODUCTION.

rise and gradual progress of the civil dissension, which is not perhaps so well known, at least so far as the province of Maryland was concerned, as are the consequences which attended it.

The conclusion will not, it is hoped, be thought the least interesting part of the work, as it represents the difficulties and dangers to which the author was exposed, from his loyalty, and unshaken attachment, to the British constitution.

# ERRATA.

Page 2, last line, noble *river* Chesapeak; *river* to be omitted,  
the Chesapeak being a bay or inlet.

5, line 8, for *for Potomac*, read *Patorwmac*.

6, 1, ditto ditto

29, 6, for *month*, read *instant*.

83, 4, for *the*, read *he*.

109, 13, for *farming*, read *forming*.

125, 13, for *respectful*, read *respectable*:

127, 1, for *country*, read *county*.

161, 11, for *Potaxent*, read *Pataxent*.

169, 6, for *that*, read *than*.

188, near the bottom, for published at *Boston*, read *Philadel-*  
*phia*.

190, line 8, *while* tending, omit *while*.

220, 3, for *brethren*, read *brother*.

223, 8, for *approbation*, read *disapprobation*.

230, 14, for *Rousley-hall*, read *Roushy*.

240, 18, for *Curtis*, read *Custis*.

304, 19, *and* therefore, omit *and*.

360, 3, have been met, omit *been*.

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L E T.

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# L E T T E R S

WRITTEN FROM

## A M E R I C A.

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### L E T T E R I.

*York Town, Virginia, Aug. 30th, 1769.*

I AM, my dear friend, at length safely landed on the American continent. Our voyage has been tedious; we have encountered hard gales, and contrary winds; but of these I think no more. I am now become an inhabitant of a new world; and I enter into it, not only with the common feelings of a stranger, whose attention is engaged by the novelty of every surrounding

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ing object, but with the more interesting reflexion, that this country is not more new to me than are my hopes and expectations in it; and that I am here, under the patronage of new friends, to engage in new pursuits. With this impression, I cannot but form an ideal connexion between what I see, and what I feel. I mean not, however, that this should at all influence the narrative which I shall occasionally transmit to you; *that*, as far as is in my power, shall contain no more than what may be supposed naturally to suggest itself to any indifferent spectator, whom curiosity or amusement has carried into a distant country.

I will begin with acquainting you, that the situation of this town is exquisitely beautiful, and the adjacent country very romantic and picturesque. The noble river Chesapeake is full in view, which,  
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in the narrowest part, is at least ten miles broad, and runs a course of near three hundred, navigable for the largest ships. Many considerable rivers discharge themselves into this bay, by which the advantages of commerce are extended to the interior country; and planters whose habitations are far remote from the ocean, receive at their own doors, by water conveyance, the various productions of distant nations.

From hence to Annapolis, the destined scene of my future pursuits, is two hundred miles; for which place I shall embark on board a schooner, the instant I receive my baggage, and hope speedily to impart the particulars of a most favourable reception.

*Chesapeake Bay, Sept. 1st.*

YESTERDAY I made an excursion to Williamsburgh, the metropolis of Virginia, the situation of which is by no means equal to York Town. The capital where the delegates of the people assemble, is neat and elegant; the college and the governor's palace, are likewise handsome edifices; but I did not distinguish any other buildings which particularly merited observation. I was, however, greatly entertained by the variegated beautiful prospects, lofty woods, and highly cultivated plantations, which presented themselves to me in every direction.

I am now on my passage for Annapolis; a gentle breeze wafts us pleasantly on our course; the day is splendid, and the interesting and magnificent objects which continually strike the eye, infinitely exceed the utmost powers of description.

Innu-

Innumerable vessels of different denominations are floating in every point of view, which add to the grandeur of the scene, and impress the mind with agreeable ideas of commercial advantages.

The course we are steering is nearly south; we have passed many noble rivers on both sides the bay, particularly the Potomac, on the western shore; which, at the entrance, is several miles in breadth, and is navigable for ships of great burthen to Alexandria, about forty leagues from its influx. At a small distance above that place are some considerable falls, which interrupt the navigation of vessels further up the country; but I am informed that a plan is in agitation to remove this obstruction; and should success attend the execution, it is scarcely conceivable to what an immense distance commerce may be then extended.

The Potomac separates Virginia from Maryland ; but there are counties belonging to each province on both sides the bay. In the Maryland government, the division is nearly equal ; but in that of Virginia, their territory on the western shore is infinitely more extensive, more populous, and more important than on the eastern.

These immense waters are diversified with an infinite number of islands of the most varied and beautiful appearance. Some are cultivated ; others entirely covered with lofty, valuable timber. It is almost impossible, on viewing the natural advantages of this country, to avoid anticipating the future political and commercial importance of America.

A few weeks since, the Thames was the most considerable river I had ever beheld ; it is now, comparatively, reduced to a diminutive

minutive stream: but, may its real importance increase to the end of time!— May the wealth of all nations flow in with every tide, to the encouragement of arts and manufactures, and to the general advancement of the riches and prosperity of Britain!

Early to-morrow, I hope to land at Annapolis. The cliffs which bound the entrance of the Severn, are now in view; but the wind is too light, and the distance too remote to permit us to entertain a hope of reaching the harbour before morning.

*Annapolis, Sept. 4th.*

EARLY yesterday I was safely landed at my desired port. The master of the schooner conducted me to a tavern, where, after a slight repast, I made the necessary preparations to appear before the Governor.

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My



My reception was equal to my warmest wishes. The department of Governor Eden was open and friendly. He invited me to meet a party at dinner, and I took leave, till the appointed hour, with a heart replete with joy and gratitude.

Understanding that I was in time for divine service, I availed myself of an immediate opportunity to offer up my fervent acknowledgements at the throne of grace; and to entreat Heaven to dispense blessings on those with whom my fate is inseparably connected.

The exterior appearance of the church has little to recommend it, but the congregation was numerous. The solemn offices were performed with a becoming devotion; and my mind was perfectly in unison with the important duties of the day.

On

On my return to the Governor, he introduced me, in the most obliging terms, to several persons of the highest respectability in the province. He treated me with the utmost kindness and cordiality; assured me of his strongest disposition to advance my future prosperity, and gave me an unlimited invitation to his hospitable table.

I could not but consider these circumstances of my reception and introduction, as a prelude to future advantages. The pleasing transactions of the day exhilarated my spirits; I evidently perceived a prepossession in my behalf; I exerted my utmost to improve the favourable impression, and retired to rest with a serenity to which I had been long unaccustomed.

A ship

On

A ship in the road is preparing to sail. I have not time to add more. *You* know where remembrances are due, and will impart them. The first vessel that arrives from England will, I trust, convey pleasing intelligence of the welfare of my family, and of yourself. Under all the eventful circumstances of life, be assured I shall remain unalterably yours.

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## L E T T E R II.

*Annapolis, Oct. 1st, 1769.*

P REVIOUS to the receipt of your letter, the painful information had arrived, that Powell was no more! He was the valued friend of my early youth, and I shall ever cherish his remembrance with unabated attachment. To mention his professional excellence is unnecessary; the unanimous voice of the public having firmly established his superior pretensions. Nor need I express my fears, that it is improbable we shall quickly "look upon his like again;" for how seldom is it that the great requisites of acting are so united in one man, as they were in him! Great, however, as his loss is to the public, it is still greater to his friends;

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to those who knew, as we did, his mild and amiable manners; his easy and unaffected vivacity; and his uniform candour and benevolence. My feelings on hearing of his death, were much augmented by the particulars of a circumstance immediately preceding it: After having contended several days with the violence of his disorder, nature appeared totally exhausted, and he had lain, for a considerable time, with scarce a symptom of existence. His surrounding friends had mournfully yielded him to his fate; and were expecting each moment the last convulsive exertion! when suddenly starting, with wonderful expression in his countenance, he repeated the speech in Macbeth, commencing with the words: "Is this a dagger——" tracing with his eye the imaginary movement of the delusive phantom; then a short period of recollection took place—he appeared conscious of having been under the influence

ence of a delirium—invoked Heaven for mercy, and sunk lifeless on his pillow! What a strong instance of the ruling passion, in his final exit! In him I have lost a faithful, animated friend; and “friends grow not thick on every bough.” But no more of this—I will endeavour to relieve my mind from the intrusion of melancholy ideas, by attempting to gratify your curiosity respecting this place, and its environs.

Annapolis is nearly encompassed by the river Severn, and, with every advantage of situation, is built on a very irregular plan. The adjacent country presents a variety of beautiful prospects, agreeably diversified with well settled plantations, lofty woods, and navigable waters. In our little metropolis, the public buildings do not impress the mind with any idea of magnificence, having been chiefly erected during  
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the infancy of the colony, when convenience was the directing principle, without attention to the embellishment of art.

The court-house, situated on an eminence at the back of the town, commands a variety of views highly interesting; the entrance of the Severn, the majestic Chesapeake, and the eastern shore of Maryland, being all united in one resplendent assemblage. Vessels of various sizes and figures are continually floating before the eye; which, while they add to the beauty of the scene, excite ideas of the most pleasing nature.

In the court-house, the representatives of the people assemble, for the dispatch of provincial business. The courts of justice are also held here; and here, likewise, the public offices are established. This building has nothing in its appearance

expressive of the great purposes to which it is appropriated ; and by a strange neglect, is suffered to fall continually into decay ; being, both without and within, an emblem of public poverty, and at the same time a severe reflection on the government of this country, which, it seems, is considerably richer than the generality of the American provinces.

The council chamber is a detached building, adjacent to the former, on a very humble scale. It contains one tolerable room, for the reception of the governor and his council, who meet here during the sitting of the assembly ; and whose concurrence is necessary in passing all laws.

I am not yet enabled, from my own observation, to form any accurate judgment respecting the political disposition of the colonists ; but, if the information I have received



received may be relied on, they attend with a jealous eye to the conduct of their respective governors; and to every regulation in the parent state, which relates to their external or internal interests. In the northern provinces, a republican spirit evidently prevails; and in the middle and southern, they are, perhaps, too ready in taking the alarm, whenever they conceive any measures are in agitation which may lessen their importance, embarrass their trade, or render them more dependent on the mother country. Almost from the commencement of their settlements, they have occasionally combated against real, or supposed innovations; and I am persuaded, whenever they become populous, in proportion to the extent of their territory, they cannot be retained as British subjects, otherwise than by inclination and interest. But I am wandering into a wide, unpleasing field of political disquisition, instead

of

of pursuing the more agreeable path of description.

The governor's house is most beautifully situated, and when the necessary alterations are completed, it will be a regular, convenient, and elegant building. The garden is not extensive, but it is disposed to the utmost advantage; the centre walk is terminated by a small green mount, close to which the Severn approaches; this elevation commands an extensive view of the bay, and the adjacent country. The same objects appear to equal advantage from the saloon, and many apartments in the house; and perhaps I may be justified in asserting, that there are but few mansions in the most rich and cultivated parts of England, which are adorned with such splendid and romantic scenery.

The buildings in Annapolis were formerly of small dimensions, and of an inelegant

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elegant construction; but there are now several modern edifices which make a good appearance. There are few habitations without gardens; some of which are planted in a decent stile, and are well stocked.

At present, this city has more the appearance of an agreeable village, than the metropolis of an opulent province, as it contains within its limits a number of small fields, which are intended for future erections. But in a few years, it will probably be one of the best built cities in America, as a spirit of improvement is predominant, and the situation is allowed to be equally healthy and pleasant with any on this side the Atlantic.

There is not, however, any probability that Annapolis will ever attain any importance in a commercial point of view:  
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the harbour is not capable of containing many vessels of considerable burthen; and the hazard of being frozen up, for a long period, during winter, is a powerful obstacle to mercantile purposes. It is, however, the seat of Government; the public offices are here established; and as many of the principal families have chosen this place for their residence, there are few towns, of the same size, in any part of the British dominions, that can boast a more polished society.

You cannot travel any considerable distance in this country, without crossing rivers, many of them wider than the Thames at Woolwich. Over these, regular ferries are established, at the charge of the respective counties; but though every proper method is adopted for expedition, yet such a number of considerable waters unavoidably occasion great delay.

In the vicinity of Annapolis are many pleasant villas, whose proprietors are eminent for their hospitality. Colonel Sharp, the late Governor, possesses a most delightful retirement, about seven miles distant; his house is on a large scale, the design is excellent, and the apartments well fitted up, and perfectly convenient. The adjacent grounds are so judiciously disposed, that utility and taste are every where happily united; and when the worthy owner has completed his extensive plan, Whitehall will be one of the most desirable situations in this, or in any of the neighbouring provinces.

Colonel Sharp has resided many years in this country, where he has established a reputation which reflects the highest honour on his public capacity, and on his private virtues. This gentleman does not seem to entertain any idea of returning to  
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his native land, but appears inclined to spend the residue of his days, within the limits of a province, which he has so long governed with honour to himself, satisfaction to the people, and fidelity to his sovereign.

*Annapolis, October 19th.*

I HAVE lately made an excursion to the eastern shore of this province. As the narrative may possibly afford you some entertainment, I shall here endeavour to give you an account of the particulars of our journey.

On the thirteenth instant, the governor and his lady, with a party of gentlemen, amongst whom I had the honour to be included, embarked on board a vessel properly accommodated for our reception; the weather was remarkably fine, and a pleasant gale wafted us, in about five hours, to the seat of Mr. C——.

This gentleman resides on an island in the Chesapeak, about seven miles in length, and of different breadth; the whole of which, being his intire property, is well cultivated, and produces great quantities of tobacco, grain, cattle, and stock of various kinds; and as it abounds likewise with game, the worthy proprietor lives, in a manner, independent of mankind, the monarch of his little fertile territory.

Early on the following morning, several of the neighbouring gentry visited the island, to pay their respects to the governor, and invitations poured in from every quarter. We were, however, under the necessity of declining these proofs of attention; his Excellency being obliged, on the sixteenth, to attend some provincial concerns in Annapolis. Accordingly, after partaking of a substantial breakfast, in the true American style, which consisted not  
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only of tea, coffee, and the usual accompaniments, but likewise of ham, dried venison, beef, and other relishing articles, we took leave of our friendly host, ferried over from his island to the main land, where carriages were waiting for our accommodation, and proceeded about twenty miles along the banks of the Chesapeake,

In the course of this little tour, we passed several plantations, which not only proclaimed the opulence, but the taste of their owners. About noon, we arrived opposite Kent Island, which, on that side, is only divided by a narrow stream from the main land: we were quickly conveyed to the opposite shore, and in a short time came to the house of Mr. H. where we enjoyed a cheerful evening; and on the following day embarked for the seat of government.

Kent Island is a narrow tract of land, about twenty miles in length, fertile, and



well settled; many of the inhabitants possessing not only the comforts, but the elegancies of life. This delectable spot forms one parish, the clerical emoluments of which afford a comfortable, if not an affluent subsistence to the incumbent. Kent Island ranges along the Bay, at the distance of about ten miles from the western shore, and beautifully terminates a most delightful prospect, highly variegated with wood and water.

As you cannot but be solicitous concerning my views and expectations, you will be glad to learn that they are highly favourable. In England there are few, even in great departments of the state, who possess so extensive a patronage as the governor of Maryland; and I am perfectly assured, that his inclination to promote my interest is in full proportion to his ability. But public affairs do not, at this juncture,

junction, wear the most flattering aspect. You, who know with what applause the repeal of the stamp act was received on this side the Atlantic, will not be surprized to hear, that a revival of the claim of taxation, by laying duties on other articles, has renewed the apprehensions and discontents which had happily subsided : and the establishment of admiralty courts, during the course of the preceding year, appears to have raised a determined opposition to the proceedings of government. To know where it will terminate is beyond the reach of human penetration. Associations are forming from one extremity of this continent to the other ; few appear to dissent from the popular creed ; and it seems to be generally admitted, that if the Americans steadily adhere to their non-importation agreement, they will from the interest, if not from the equity of the Parent State, obtain redress of grievances. “ Statist I

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am none, nor like to be ;" therefore am by no means competent to deliver my sentiments on this very alarming subject. There are some zealots, who are frantic enough to affect a bold language, and to talk of hostile measures, if arguments and pacific remonstrances should prove ineffectual ; but such men are deservedly treated with contempt by the wise and dispassionate. I am persuaded, the principal persons in every government, are not inclined to adopt any measures but what are founded on rectitude and moderation, from a settled belief, that calm and respectful applications from the legislative body, will eventually be productive of every desired consequence.

But enough of politics. I am looking forward, with impatience, to the day which will restore me to those who must participate in my good, or evil fortune. Adieu !

L E T T E R

## L E T T E R     I I I .

*Annapolis, Jan. 15, 1770.*

COLONEL F—, a gentleman of considerable property, and a member of the council, early in December, engaged the governour, with a circle of select friends, to pass a few days, during the Christmas vacation, at his seat in Calvert County, about seventy miles distant from Annapolis. Having the honour to be included in the party, I embarked on the twenty-second, with the colonel, on board a schooner which he had fitted up for occasional excursions; and considering the season of the year, we had a pleasant run to the place of our destination, which is delightfully situated within view of the Chesapeak, on the fertile banks of the river Patuxent.

Rousby

Rousby Hall, which is the name of my friend's hospitable mansion, is as well known to the weary indigent traveller, as to the affluent guest. In a country where hospitality is the distinguishing feature, the benevolent owner has established a pre-eminence, which places his character in an exalted point of view.

The governor, on account of some particular engagements, did not quit Annapolis till the twenty-sixth; and on the thirtieth I accompanied Colonel F—— to the habitation of a gentleman, about twenty miles distant, where, by appointment, we met his Excellency, with a numerous party, who had assembled to bid him welcome. All the good things of a plentiful country decorated the table of our munificent host; the wines were excellent, and various; and cheerful blazing fires, with enlivening conversation, exhilarated the spirits,

spirits, and rendered us totally regardless of the rigour of an American winter. On the ensuing day, the whole company proceeded to Rousby Hall, where we continued, in the full enjoyment of genuine hospitality, till the third month; and it was with the utmost reluctance we were then permitted to take our departure.

Since we quitted Colonel F——, we have visited most of the principal families in Calvert, St. Mary's, Charles, Prince George's, and Anne Arundel Counties; and were every where received with the most obliging proofs of regard and attention. From the severity of the weather, we occasionally encountered some hardships and inconveniences, but we were amply compensated at the end of every stage, by excellent accommodations, and sumptuous fare. Notwithstanding the dreary season, the eye was gratified with many picturesque and noble objects: we travelled a considerable  
way

way on the banks of the great river Potowmac, which separates Maryland from Virginia; and though this country is greatly inferior, in its present state, to the highly cultivated parts of South Britain, yet, on the whole, it is well settled; the generality of the plantations are disposed with the utmost regularity, and in very many of the habitations we found elegance as well as comfort.

We passed an agreeable evening with a family, nearly opposite to Alexandria in Virginia; and, had the weather been moderate, intended to have crossed the river on a visit to Major Washington, who, as you may recollect, particularly distinguished himself in the transactions of the late war: this gentleman has a pleasant seat on the banks of the Potowmac, in the vicinity of the above town, which is named Mount Vernon, where he resides in full possession of universal love, and esteem.

Yester-

Yesterday we returned safe to Annapolis, greatly satisfied with our expedition.

*February 20.*

ON Saturday last our little city appeared in all its splendor. It was the anniversary of the proprietary's birth. The governor gave a grand entertainment on the occasion to a numerous party: the company brought with them every disposition to render each other happy; and the festivity concluded with cards, and dancing, which engaged the attention of their respective votaries till an early hour.

I am persuaded there is not a town in England of the same size as Annapolis, which can boast a greater number of fashionable and handsome women; and were I not satisfied to the contrary, I should suppose that the majority of our belles possessed every advantage of a long and fami-



liar intercourse with the manners and habits of your great metropolis.

I am told that beauty in this country is not of long duration: it is also asserted that, in general, the men do not possess such good stamina as the natives of Great Britain. Though every way equal in genius and enterprize, they are supposed less able to support fatigue, and to encounter the hardships of laborious employments.

During the winter there are assemblies every fortnight; the room for dancing is large; the construction elegant; and the whole illuminated to great advantage. At each extremity are apartments for the card tables, where select companies enjoy the circulation of the party-coloured gentry, without having their attention diverted by the sound of fiddles, and the evolutions of youthful performers.

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About Christmas an intense frost set in, which has continued till a few days since, with unremitting severity. Our principal rivers, for several weeks, have been passable for carriages heavily laden; and in particular situations, innumerable skaters have exhibited on the glassy surface their feats of dexterity.

It is certainly extraordinary, that in a latitude nearly parallel with Gibraltar, the inhabitants should experience, for a considerable duration, a degree of cold to which the northern extremities of the British Islands have never been accustomed: this, I am informed, proceeds entirely from local circumstances; the winds, prevalent in winter, blowing over those immense lakes, situated to the westward of this, and some neighbouring provinces, impregnate the air with frigid particles, that make us

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sensible of an inclemency equal to that experienced by the shivering Laplander.

In this country a heavy snow generally precedes the frost, during the continuance of which the atmosphere is beautifully serene, without any of those pernicious fogs so prevalent in your humid climate.

Notwithstanding the extensive forests that abound throughout this vast continent, fuel is an expensive article in all the considerable towns: provisions are in general cheap, but the price of labour is high, from which circumstance firing is comparatively dear, even on the most æconomical plan. I am, however, persuaded that, by prudent management, a respectable appearance may be supported in Maryland, on terms infinitely more reasonable than in most parts of the mother country,

country; and that greater opportunities are afforded to the industrious and enterprising, to lay the foundation of a comfortable provision for a succeeding generation.

I am, &c.

## LETTER IV.

*Annapolis, April 2, 1770.*

**I** THANK you, my friend, for your very warm congratulations, on my present happy, and promising establishment. The scene is, indeed, reversed; the remembrance of former disappointments tends but to excite a grateful sensibility of that providential goodness which has safely conducted me through a maze of difficulties and embarrassments, restored me to all the blessings of domestic peace, and, apparently placed me in a situation that has little to fear from a reverse of fortune.

You have been rightly informed respecting the conduct of our worthy governor. From every observation I have, hitherto, been enabled to make, he appears perfectly  
com-

competent to the discharge of his important duty. Not only in the summer, but during the extreme rigour of an American winter, it is his custom to rise early : till the hour of dinner he devotes the whole of his time to provincial concerns ; the meanest individual obtains an easy, and immediate access to his person ; he investigates, with accuracy, the complicated duties of his station ; and discovers, upon every occasion, alacrity in the dispatch of business ; and a perfect knowledge of the relative connexions of the country.

Had he been appointed to succeed a person who had consulted his private advantage in preference to that of the public ; who had been found unequal to the discharge of his important trust, or remiss in the execution it would have required no extraordinary exertion of abilities to have appeared in a favourable

point of view. But his immediate predecessor, by the invariable rectitude of his conduct, the affability of his manners, and his unremitting attention to the happiness and prosperity of Maryland, had established a well merited popularity, which, during an administration of sixteen years, continued in full force, and has secured to him the unabated love, and attachment of a grateful people.

That our present supreme magistrate possesses an extensive capacity for government, is, indeed, obvious to the most superficial observer ; but it may be objected, that experience is yet wanting to confirm his claim to eminent distinction. I admit the force of the objection ; and will likewise acknowledge the influence of partiality. He is my patron ! my benefactor ! I may possibly be animated by the impulse of gratitude, to delineate his conduct in the  
strongest

strongest colours. To time I therefore leave him, the only true criterion by which any character can be properly established. To that incontestible decision he himself emphatically appeals in the conclusion of his first speech to the general assembly of the province. Let me quote a declaration which, should he be found defective, will stand recorded to his disadvantage, and likewise prove that I have seen through a false medium, and have been too precipitate in drawing conclusions.

“ Gentlemen of both Houses,

“ I am sensible that I shall be judged  
“ of by my actions, and not by any assurances I may now give you of my future conduct. To that test I most readily submit, and shall be truly happy,  
“ when I leave you, to be able, like my

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“ predecessor, to lay my hand on my heart,  
“ in confidence of having acted solely on  
“ the principles here laid down; and of  
“ having merited, by so doing, the thanks  
“ of those over whom I have the honour  
“ to preside.”

Maryland is a proprietary government, and owes its original settlement to religious motives. In the year 1632, Lord Baltimore, who then possessed considerable influence, obtained a grant of this country from Charles the First, until which time it had been considered as a part of Virginia \*. The Roman Catholics were, at that period, greatly harrassed by the Puritans, who were then beginning to become the predominant party; and to secure them an asylum, where they might safely

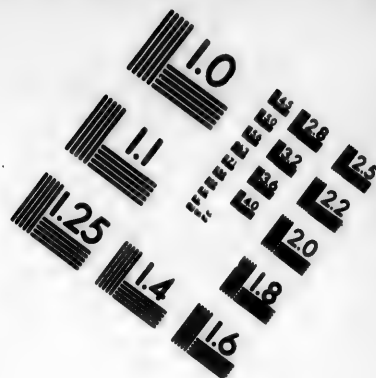
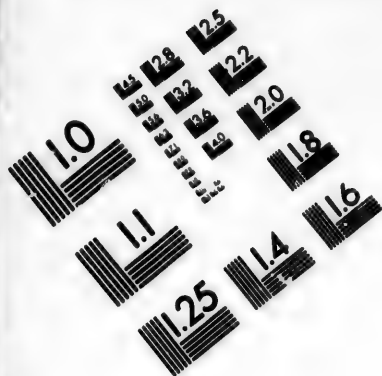
\* The royal grant was given on this singular condition, that the proprietary should annually present, at Windsor Castle, two Indian arrows.

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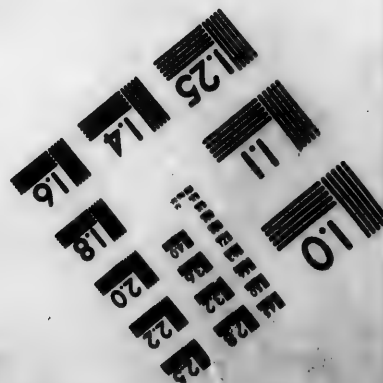
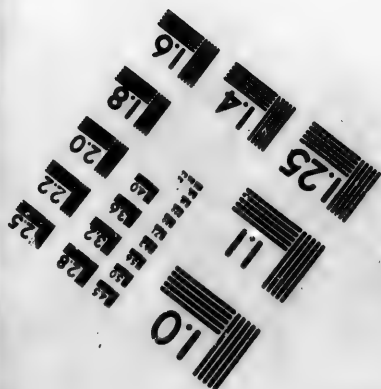
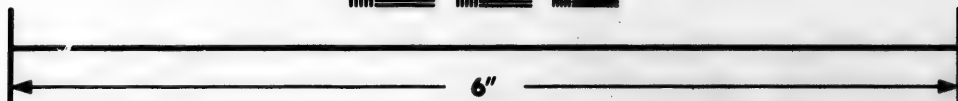
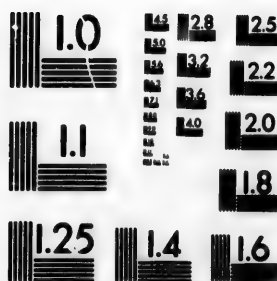
profess their religious tenets, was the motive which induced the above nobleman to solicit the grant. Accordingly, in the following year, about two hundred families, of that persuasion, some of whom were of considerable distinction, embarked from Ireland for this new acquired territory, where they were amply received by the Indian inhabitants, whose affection they had the good fortune to conciliate by the liberality of their conduct; in so much that they were soon enabled to purchase extensive tracts on the most moderate terms, and to settle their lands to the best advantage, without entertaining any anxious apprehensions from the original possessors.

During the existence of that illegal power, which had subverted the ancient constitution both in church and state, the proprietor of Maryland was deprived of his





# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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his authority and his property; and a governor, appointed by the protector, was substituted in his stead: but at the restoration the property of the province reverted to its natural possessor; Lord Baltimore was reinstated in his privileges; and quickly demonstrated, by his distinguished conduct, that he had every claim which merit and justice could afford. He instituted a perfect toleration with respect to religion. He gave the utmost encouragement to agriculture and to commerce. In consequence of his judicious exertions, the colony increased rapidly in wealth and population, and persons of all denominations, attracted by the moderation and equity of his government, were emulous to obtain settlements under so flourishing and respectable an establishment.

At the demise of Charles the Second, a weak, arbitrary, and tyrannical monarch  
suc-

succeeded to the throne; during whose short, but pernicious administration, this noble family were again deprived of their possession, which had been derived from royal bounty, and had been wonderfully improved, at the expence of infinite labour and proportionable disbursements. They were, however, again reinstated, in consequence of that glorious revolution which established the British constitution on a firm unalterable basis.

Though, by this ever-memorable event, the proprietor was restored to the profits of the government, yet the right of governing could not, consistently, under the new system, be conferred on a Roman Catholic; therefore, until the family renounced that communion, the crown assumed the power of appointing the supreme magistrate.

Lord

Lord Baltimore, the present proprietor, has a right to exercise in his own person, all the executive offices of government; and in his absence to nominate one to that department, with the consent and approbation of his majesty.

The present governor, who married his eldest sister, was elevated to that situation, a few months before my arrival in the country.

Maryland is divided into fourteen counties, seven on the western, and seven on the eastern side of the bay, each of which sends four representatives to the general assembly. The city of Annapolis has likewise the privilege of delegating two. These gentlemen form the lower house, and, if I may compare small things to great, possess similar powers with the commons in the British parliament. The council, is composed

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composed of ten members, who are nominated by the governor : they have the appellation of honourable, and with them he is to advise in all matters respecting the general interests of the community. During the sitting of the assembly, they become a superior branch of the legislature, and their confirmation is essential to the passing of all laws.

The governor is, in every particular, the representative of the Crown. He appoints the time for the sitting of both Houses ; his assent is necessary for the confirmation of their proceedings ; and he prorogues or dissolves them, as appears to him most consistent with the authority of Government, and the interests of the people.

I have previously observed, that Maryland was originally settled by a colony of Roman Catholics, who emigrated from

Ireland early in the last century, under the patronage of the then Lord Baltimore. For some time the inhabitants of that persuasion maintained the entire ascendancy; but their numbers are at present very inconsiderable, and their influence of no weight in the public concerns of the province. They, however, continue to be tolerated, without being permitted to participate in the offices of government. The established religion is that of the church of England, the members of which communion very greatly exceed the aggregate body of the dissenters of every denomination.

The province is divided into forty-four parishes, many of which are populous and extensive. The patronage is solely vested in the governor, who is thereby enabled to provide, in an ample manner, for many worthy and respectable characters; and  
when

when all circumstances are taken into consideration, the clergy in this part of the world, will be found to possess advantages greatly superior to the generality of their brethren in the mother country. Pluralities have never been admitted, the colonists being universally prepossessed against that practice; and to attempt such an innovation, would excite ferments of a dangerous nature. Each incumbent has a neat and convenient habitation, with a sufficient quantity of land, in proper cultivation to answer every useful and domestic purpose; and the emoluments arising from the least beneficial preferment, are amply sufficient to support an appearance, perfectly consistent with the respectability of the clerical profession. The holders of church benefices are also happily exempted from the frequent altercations, which unavoidably take place in the mother country, on account of the collection of tythes.

By

By the laws of this province, all public dues are levied by a poll-tax. The clergy, from this provision, are entitled to forty pounds of Tobacco for every person within a limited age, at the rate of twelve shillings and six-pence the hundred weight. Persons who plant Tobacco have it in their option to pay either in money or in produce; those who do not, are constantly assessed in specie. A list of the taxables, properly authenticated, is delivered to the sheriff of each county, who collects the clerical revenues, with other public claims; and deducting a moderate commission for transacting this concern, the residue is paid with regularity and dispatch, to the respective incumbents.

As the emoluments of benefices increase, in proportion to the increase of inhabitants, many benefices in this government are rapidly advancing in value,  
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and must, before many years elapse, very greatly exceed the present annual amount. Frederick County, which is considerably the most extensive in this province, in its present state, is only divided into two parishes, one of which, denominated All Saints, I am credibly informed is, at this period, estimated at full one thousand pounds sterling, *per annum*; and from the great increase of population, which is daily taking place in that beautiful and fertile country, it will, very probably, soon produce an income little inferior to many English bishopricks.

I cannot conceive on what principle the colonists are so strongly prejudiced against the introduction of the episcopal order: such an establishment would assuredly be attended with many local advantages, and save much trouble and expense to gentlemen

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educated in America for the sacred function, who, on the present system, are under the necessity of taking a voyage to England for the purpose of ordination. Throughout the southern provinces, the members of the established church greatly exceed those of all other denominations; yet I am persuaded, any attempt to establish an hierarchy, would be resisted with as much acrimony as during the gloomy prevalence of puritanical zeal. This spirit of opposition, to a measure so evidently conducive to the general good, is the more extraordinary, as the inhabitants of this part of America discover, on every possible occasion, an enlarged and liberal disposition. They have, however, conceived such rooted prejudices against the higher orders of the church, that they are positively persuaded the advantages to be acquired, by such an institution in the colonies, would by no

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means counter-balance the evils which might arise from it \*.

In a political point of view, independent of religious motives, it is much to be lamented, that a plan of this nature was not determined on, before the colonies had arrived to their present degree of population

\* The establishment of episcopacy in America, since the conclusion of the war, is among those very extraordinary circumstances which cannot be accounted for by human penetration.

While the colonies were a part of the British empire, the introduction of dignitaries was opposed with a most determined spirit, from an opinion, generally conceived, that the powers they would be authorized to exercise, might eventually be subversive of freedom; but when they were entirely at liberty to adopt any regulations for ecclesiastical government, totally independent of the mother country, they voluntarily and unanimously solicited the consecration of bishops.

tion and consequence: had an order of nobility been created, and dignitaries in the church appointed at an early period, it would most assuredly have greatly tended to cherish a steady adherence to monarchical principles; and have more strongly rivetted

About three years since, two clergymen, one from New York, and the other from Philadelphia, arrived in England, and received episcopal consecration. An act of Parliament had previously passed, for the purpose of dispensing with the oaths to the British government, in the case of those gentlemen, and in all similar cases. They were properly recommended hither, by a convention of the clergy in the United States of America; and another of their brethren, sanctioned in like manner from Virginia, has been lately consecrated here, as bishop for that state, under the forementioned authority. So that there are three bishops now in that country, who will have full power to continue the uninterrupted succession, which has existed from the days of the apostles; not to mention a gentleman who, a considerable time before the others, had been consecrated by the non-juring bishops in Scotland, and who resides in Connecticut.

None



rivetted the attachment of the colonies to the parent state. Inattention to principles of such importance, has gradually given birth to sentiments totally repugnant to the genius of our most excellent constitution. A republican spirit ap-

None of these, however, have any fixed income, but depend upon the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, to whom they regularly preach on Sundays, and officiate as parish priests. They have the title of *Right Reverend*, but have no particular powers, except that of ordaining deacons and priests, and superintending the religious and moral conduct of the clergy, who are, in some sort, rendered accountable to them. It is, I believe, generally allowed, that the members of the episcopal church increase, throughout all the States, beyond any other denomination, although they are nearly upon an equality with the others, respecting the privileges from the civil power. In British America, there is a bishop, chiefly resident in Nova Scotia, who has much the same distinction with those already particularised; but enjoys an established salary of about eleven hundred pounds sterling a year.

pears generally to predominate ; and it will undoubtedly require the utmost exertion of legislative wisdom, to establish on a permanent basis, the future political and commercial connexion between Great Britain and America.

There are many discerning and intelligent persons, who are decidedly of opinion that the acquisition of Canada is highly prejudicial to the interests of the mother country. The Americans are, by this event, relieved from continual apprehensions ; their frontiers are no longer exposed to the incursions of a restless enterprising neighbour ; and they begin to encourage ideas of self-importance, which have been wonderfully promoted by the success attending their recent opposition to the operation of the stamp duties.

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Had Canada still continued annexed to the French empire, it is evident that the British provinces, from a well-grounded dread of such numerous and powerful opponents, must unavoidably, on a principle of self-preservation, if not of affection, have remained firmly and indissolubly attached to the parent state: a just apprehension of real calamities would have operated with efficacy against imaginary evils; and the natural and constitutional dependence of the colonies, on the protection and assistance of Great Britain, would have promoted a constant and mutual interchange of friendly and benevolent offices, which must have settled the union on a permanent foundation, and on terms reciprocally honourable and advantageous to both countries.

What will be the event of the present discontents, which, I am truly concerned

to observe, are universally predominant, time alone can determine. There are amongst us, many restless spirits, who are evidently industrious in fomenting divisions, and exciting jealousies; and unless wise and constitutional measures are immediately adopted, there is too much reason to apprehend consequences of a serious and alarming nature.

You will think, and with great justice, that I have ventured far beyond my depth, in presuming to descant on such important topics; but remember it was you who started the game; I have only, like an unskilful rider, followed an irresistible impulse, and if I retain but my seat on the saddle, I shall be amply satisfied.

Adieu! &c.

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## L E T T E R V.

*Annapolis, June 8th, 1770.*

THOUGH we are yet far behind the mother country, with respect to cultivation and improvements, yet, in a comparative view, Maryland may boast considerable advantages. The inhabitants are enterprising and industrious; commerce and agriculture are encouraged; and every circumstance clearly evinces, that this colony is making a rapid progress to wealth, power, and population.

Provisions of every kind, are excellent and plentiful; and the Chesapeak, with our numerous rivers, affords a surprising variety of excellent fish. Poultry, and wild-fowl, abound amongst the humble  
cotta-

cottagers ; and beef, mutton, pork, and other provisions, are at least equal to the production of the best British markets.

Deer, a few years since, were very numerous in the interior settlements ; but, from the unfair methods adopted by the hunters, their numbers are exceedingly diminished. These people, whose only motive was to procure the hide of the animal, were dextrous, during the winter season, in tracing their path through the snow ; and from the animal's incapacity to exert speed, under such circumstances, great multitudes of them were annually slaughtered, and their carcases left in the woods. This practice, however, has been thought worthy the attention of the legislature, and an act of assembly has taken place, laying severe penalties on " persons detected in " pursuing or destroying deer, within a " limited term ;" and it is probable, the  
appre-

apprehension of punishment may very greatly restrain, if not totally eradicate an evil founded on cruelty and rapacity.

In England, almost every county is distinguished by a peculiar dialect ; even different habits, and different modes of thinking, evidently discriminate inhabitants, whose local situation is not far remote : but in Maryland, and throughout the adjacent provinces, it is worthy of observation, that a striking similitude of speech universally prevails ; and it is strictly true, that the pronunciation of the generality of the people has an accuracy and elegance, that cannot fail of gratifying the most judicious ear.

The colonists are composed of adventurers, not only from every district of Great Britain and Ireland, but from almost every other European government, where the  
prin-

principles of liberty and commerce have operated with spirit and efficacy. Is it not, therefore, reasonable to suppose, that the English language must be greatly corrupted by such a strange intermixture of various nations? The reverse is, however, true. The language of the immediate descendants of such a promiscuous ancestry is perfectly uniform, and unadulterated; nor has it borrowed any provincial, or national accent, from its British or foreign parentage.

For my part, I confess myself totally at a loss to account for the apparent difference, between the colonists and persons under equal circumstances of education and fortune, resident in the mother country. This uniformity of language prevails not only on the coast, where Europeans form a considerable mass of the people, but likewise in the interior parts, where population has made but slow advances ;



vances; and where opportunities seldom occur to derive any great advantages from an intercourse with intelligent strangers.

You, my friend, are seated at the fountain head of literary and political intelligence, and from you I shall expect frequent, and circumstantial communications. Most sincerely do I wish you may be enabled to acquaint me, that the first transaction in the ensuing sessions of parliament, is a total repeal of acts, which are never likely to be productive of any considerable revenue; and which are esteemed in this country, to have no other tendency but to enforce claims, which the colonists universally consider as impolitic and unconstitutional. How far their sentiments are justly founded, I am by no means competent to determine; but it is a certain fact, that the statute imposing duties on glass, paper, and tea, has undermined the foundation of that  
cordiality,

cordiality, which the repeal of the stamp act had happily re-established; and it is with the utmost concern, I am necessitated to acquaint you, that a spirit of discontent and opposition is universally predominant in the colonies.

*Annapolis, June 14th.*

I AM sure you will take a sincere part in the happiness I now experience. My wife and son arrived yesterday from England, and I am again restored to the blessings of domestic life. With their affectionate wishes, believe me, &c.

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## L E T T E R VI.

*Annapolis, Sept. 20, 1770-*

**Y**OUR information relative to the situation of servants in this country, is far from being well-founded. I have now been upwards of twelve months resident in Maryland, and am thereby enabled to convey to you a tolerable idea on this subject.

Persons in a state of servitude are under four distinct denominations: negroes, who are the entire property of their respective owners: convicts, who are transported from the mother country for a limited term: indented servants, who are engaged for five years previous to their leaving England; and free-willers, who are supposed,  
from

from their situation, to possess superior advantages.

The negroes in this province are, in general, natives of the country ; very few in proportion being imported from the coast of Africa. They are better cloathed, better fed, and better treated, than their unfortunate brethren, whom a more rigid fate hath subjected to slavery in our West India islands ; neither are their employments so laborious, nor the acts of the legislature so partially oppressive against them. The further we proceed to the northward, the less number of people are to be found of this complexion : In the New England government, negroes are almost as scarce as on your side of the Atlantic, and but few are under actual slavery ; but as we advance to the south, their multitudes astonishingly increase, and in  
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the Carolinas they considerably exceed the number of white inhabitants \*.

\* Notwithstanding the climate of North America is less favourable to the constitution of negroes than the European settlements in the Torrid Zone, they nevertheless increase rapidly in almost every part of that extensive continent. The last importation of slaves into Maryland was, as I am credibly informed, in the year 1769; and though great losses have been sustained in consequence of the war, and desertions to the British standard, their numbers are at least doubled since that time, without any foreign supply. To account for a circumstance, apparently so improbable, it must be observed, that on the American continent, the planters generally adopted a more liberal mode in their African intercourse, than has been pursued in the islands. They did not import slaves for the supply of foreign settlements, but purchased for their own immediate use, without any particular preference to either sex. The consequence is obvious, they have multiplied in a due proportion, and notwithstanding the occasional severity of the climate, and the recent calamities of war, their numbers are fully sufficient for their respective occupations.

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Maryland is the only province into which convicts may be freely imported. The Virginians have inflicted very severe penalties on any masters of vessels, or others, who may attempt to introduce persons under this description into their colony. They have been influenced in this measure by an apprehension, that, from the admission of such inmates into their families, the prevalence of bad example might tend to universal depravity, in spite of every regulation, and restraining law.

Persons convicted of felony, and in consequence transported to this continent, if they are able to pay the expence of passage, are free to pursue their fortune agreeably to their inclinations or abilities. Few, however, have means to avail themselves of this advantage. These unhappy beings are, generally, consigned to an agent, who classes them suitably to their real or supposed

posed qualifications; advertises them for sale, and disposes of them, for seven years, to planters, to mechanics, and to such as choose to retain them for domestic service. Those who survive the term of servitude, seldom establish their residence in this country: the stamp of infamy is too strong upon them to be easily erased: they either return to Europe, and renew their former practices; or, if they have fortunately imbibed habits of honesty and industry, they remove to a distant situation, where they may hope to remain unknown, and be enabled to pursue with credit every possible method of becoming useful members of society.

In your frequent excursions about the great metropolis, you cannot but observe numerous advertisements, offering the most seducing encouragement to adventurers under every possible description; to those

who are disgusted with the frowns of fortune in their native land; and to those of an enterprising disposition, who are tempted to court her smiles in a distant region. These persons are referred to agents, or crimps, who represent the advantages to be obtained in America, in colours so alluring, that it is almost impossible to resist their artifices. Unwary persons are accordingly induced to enter into articles, by which they engage to become servants, agreeable to their respective qualifications, for the term of five years; every necessary accommodation being found them during the voyage; and every method taken that they may be treated with tenderness and humanity during the period of servitude; at the expiration of which they are taught to expect, that opportunities will assuredly offer to secure to the honest and industrious, a competent provision for the remainder of their days.



The generality of the inhabitants in this province are very little acquainted with those fallacious pretences, by which numbers are continually induced to embark for this continent. On the contrary, they too generally conceive an opinion that the difference is merely nominal between the indented servant and the convicted felon: nor will they readily believe that people, who had the least experience in life, and whose characters were unexceptionable, would abandon their friends and families, and their ancient connexions, for a servile situation, in a remote appendage to the British Empire. From this persuasion they rather consider the convict as the more profitable servant, his term being for seven, the latter only for five years; and, I am sorry to observe, that there are but few instances wherein they experience different treatment. Negroes being a property for life, the death

of slaves, in the prime of youth or strength, is a material loss to the proprietor; they are, therefore, almost in every instance, under more comfortable circumstances than the miserable European, over whom the rigid planter exercises an inflexible severity. They are strained to the utmost to perform their allotted labour; and, from a prepossession in many cases too justly founded, they are supposed to be receiving only the just reward which is due to repeated offences. There are doubtless many exceptions to this observation, yet, generally speaking, they groan beneath a worse than Egyptian bondage. By attempting to lighten the intolerable burthen, they often render it more insupportable. For real, or imaginary causes, these frequently attempt to escape, but very few are successful; the country being intersected with rivers, and the utmost vigilance observed in detecting persons

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sons under suspicious circumstances, who, when apprehended, are committed to close confinement, advertised, and delivered to their respective masters; the party who detects the vagrant being entitled to a reward. Other incidental charges arise. The unhappy culprit is doomed to a severe chastisement; and a prolongation of servitude is decreed in full proportion to expences incurred, and supposed inconveniences resulting from a desertion of duty.

The situation of the free-willer is, in almost every instance, more to be lamented than either that of the convict or the indentured servant; the deception which is practised on those of this description being attended with circumstances of greater duplicity and cruelty. Persons under this denomination are received under express conditions that, on their arrival in America, they are to be allowed a stipulated

number of days to dispose of themselves to the greatest advantage. They are told, that their services will be eagerly solicited, in proportion to their abilities ; that their reward will be adequate to the hazard they encounter by courting fortune in a distant region ; and that the parties with whom they engage will readily advance the sum agreed on for their passage ; which, being averaged at about nine pounds sterling, they will speedily be enabled to repay, and to enjoy, in a state of liberty, a comparative situation of ease and affluence.

With these pleasing ideas they support, with cheerfulness, the hardships to which they are subjected during the voyage ; and, with the most anxious sensations of delight, approach the land which they consider as the scene of future prosperity. But scarce have they contemplated the diversified objects which naturally attract attention ;

tion ; scarce have they yielded to the pleasing reflection, that every danger, every difficulty, is happily surmounted, before their fond hopes are cruelly blasted, and they find themselves involved in all the complicated miseries of a tedious, laborious, and unprofitable servitude.

Persons resident in America, being accustomed to procure servants for a very trifling consideration, under absolute terms, for a limited period, are not often disposed to hire adventurers, who expect to be gratified in full proportion to their acknowledged qualifications ; but, as they support authority with a rigid hand, they little regard the former situation of their unhappy dependants.

This disposition, which is almost universally prevalent, is well known to the parties, who on your side of the Atlantic engage

engage in this iniquitous and cruel commerce. It is, therefore, an article of agreement with these deluded victims, that if they are not successful in obtaining situations, on their own terms, within a certain number of days after their arrival in the country, they are then to be sold, in order to defray the charges of passage, at the discretion of the master of the vessel, or the agent to whom he is consigned in the province.

You are also to observe, that servants imported, even under this favourable description, are rarely permitted to set their feet on shore, until they have absolutely formed their respective engagements. As soon as the ship is stationed in her birth, planters, mechanics, and others, repair on board; the adventurers of both sexes are exposed to view, and very few are happy enough to make their own stipulations,  
some

some very extraordinary qualifications being absolutely requisite to obtain this distinction; and even when this is obtained, the advantages are by no means equivalent to their sanguine expectations. The residue, stung with disappointment and vexation, meet with horror the moment which dooms them, under an appearance of equity, to a limited term of slavery. Character is of little importance; their abilities not being found of a superior nature, they are sold as soon as their term of election is expired, apparel and provision being their only compensation; till, on the expiration of five tedious laborious years, they are restored to a dearly purchased freedom.

From this detail, I am persuaded, you will no longer imagine, that the servants in this country are in a better situation than those in Britain. You have heard of con-

victs who rather chose to undergo the severest penalties of the law, than endure the hardships which are annexed to their situation, during a state of servitude on this side the Atlantic. Indolence, accompanied with a train of vicious habits, has, doubtless, great influence on the determination of such unhappy wretches; but it is surely to be lamented that men, whose characters are unblemished, whose views are founded on honest and industrious principles, should fall a sacrifice to avarice and delusion, and indiscriminately be blended with the most profligate and abandoned of mankind.

It seems astonishing, that a circumstance so well known, particularly in this province, should not have been generally circulated through every part of the British Empire. Were the particulars of this iniquitous traffic universally divulged, those  
who



who have established offices in London, and in the principal sea-ports, for the regular conduct of this business, would be pointed out to obloquy, and their punishment would serve as a beacon to deter the ignorant and unwary from becoming victims to the insidious practices of avarice and deceit.

I am ready to admit there is every appearance of candour on the part of the agents, and their accomplices. Previous to the embarkation of any person under the respective agreements, the parties regularly comply with the requisitions of a law, wisely calculated to prevent clandestine transportation; they appear before a magistrate, and give their voluntary assent to the obligations they have mutually entered into. But are not such adventurers induced to this measure in consequence of ignorance and misrepresentation? Assuredly they are. They are industriously

duftoriously taught to expect advantages infinitely superior to their most sanguine views in Britain. Every lucrative incentive is delineated in the most flattering colours; and they fondly expect to acquire that independence in the revolution of a few years, which the longest life could not promise, with the exertion of their best abilities, in the bosom of their native country.

I will relieve your attention from this painful subject, by relating an anecdote of an interesting nature, with which I became acquainted soon after my arrival in these parts.

A gentleman of considerable influence and fortune, purchased a servant as an assistant to his gardener; having been previously informed that he had originally acted in that capacity, and was qualified for the undertaking. The man, soon after he

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was brought on shore, received instructions to enter on his business, when it was immediately discovered, that he was wholly unacquainted with the nature of his employment. On being interrogated relative to this deception, he acquainted his master, that “ extreme indigence induced him to  
“ abandon his native country—that in the  
“ course of the voyage, having intimated  
“ that he had not been brought up to any  
“ mechanical profession, he was informed by the captain, it was absolutely necessary he should avow some particular  
“ calling, in order to secure a more comfortable situation; that in America, a  
“ competent skill in gardening was easily  
“ attainable, and seldom required the exertion of greater talents than what  
“ were immediately essential for domestic  
“ purposes; and that by engaging in  
“ such employment, he might avoid a  
“ more laborious servitude, under the  
“ disci-

" discipline of some rigid and inflexible  
" planter."

This declaration was delivered in terms so apparently consistent with truth, as obtained entire credit with his master, who from his deportment, and exterior, was likewise induced to form sentiments much to his advantage: he therefore determined to receive him into his family, in the capacity of a domestic, and to give him that encouragement, to which he might be entitled by the propriety of his future conduct.

Every sentiment of gratitude appeared to operate on the mind of the servant, when he found himself destined to a station more comfortable than his original allotment; and, for some time, the whole tenor of his actions was such as might shew, that he highly merited the indulgence which he had so unexpectedly obtained.

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For a few months his diligence and attention secured him the entire approbation of his master, and he was continually gaining ground on his confidence and esteem. It was, therefore, with the utmost concern, his benefactor began to observe an appearance of discontent, a disregard to the duties of his station, and an evident alteration in every particular. Remonstrances and threats were equally ineffectual: his disposition became sullen, and reserved; while he obstinately refused to assign any cause for such an obvious change in his conduct. At length, he quitted the house of his benevolent employer, and by travelling in the night, and lying concealed in the day, he took the proper precautions to elude the vigilance of pursuit.

His plan, though well concerted, was, nevertheless, ineffectual. In a few days he was discovered, almost famished. Ne-

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cessity compelled him to supplicate the aid of charity: his story was equivocal, and excited suspicion; he obtained relief, but with the detention of his person. A magistrate, before whom he was conveyed, threatened him with confinement and rigorous treatment, unless he gave a proper and satisfactory account from whence he came, and the circumstances which had reduced him to his present situation. Finding every fallacious pretext fruitless, he made a candid and explicit discovery, and was, in consequence, with all possible expedition, conducted to the presence of a master, whose tenderness he had basely returned with such unpardonable ingratitude.

The most compassionate nature is seldom proof against repeated instances of an incorrigible disposition. It was therefore thought necessary that he should experience

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perience the consequences of his behaviour, but he was previously reminded of the repeated acts of kindness that had been shown him, and the ungrateful return he had made. From such considerations it was observed, that it was a debt strictly due to justice to compel him to serve the residue of his time in the most laborious employment allotted to worthless servants. He was accordingly sentenced to the iron mines, there to reap the bitter effects of his conduct.

Overwhelmed with the consciousness of guilt, and terrified at the prospect of the punishment that awaited him, the unfortunate culprit, in the most ingenuous terms, confessed the equity of the sentence passed upon him, but not without an intimation, that there were circumstances in his case which, were they known, he was persuaded, would plead powerfully in his

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behalf. An irresistible inclination to return to his native country, and the obstacles which appeared to bar his delusive hopes, had possessed his mind with that gloom and discontent, which had almost obliterated the impressions of gratitude, and occasioned that conduct which had brought him into his present situation. He concluded by declaring, that he had not the most distant claim to compassion, yet relying on that goodness and lenity which he had so frequently abused, he was encouraged to admit a ray of hope, and to supplicate forgiveness, however undeserved.

His humane master heard him with the most candid attention. He pitied a deviation from rectitude, which originated in motives natural to the human mind; and determined not only to exempt him from the situation to which he had been justly doomed, but to send him, by an early opportunity, to his much loved native country



try, there to pursue such eligible methods as Providence might suggest for his future comfortable provision. I shall not attempt to delineate the transports which on this intimation took possession of his mind.

About this time, the captain of a ship preparing to sail for England, signified his want of a steward to attend on those passengers who had engaged his cabin for the voyage: the emancipated servant was recommended for this employment; his services were accepted; and with solemn assurances of the most lasting and grateful attachment, he bade farewell to a master, by whose generous, disinterested conduct, he was so providentially restored to happiness and to liberty.

Two years elapsed without the least intelligence respecting his situation, when, at length, a letter arrived, filled with every

sentiment of gratitude. “ His sense of  
“ repeated obligations was acknowledg-  
“ ed in terms which delineated a heart  
“ conscious of the important benefits he  
“ had experienced; and he concluded by  
“ entreating his late master’s acceptance  
“ of a bill, as a trifling consideration for  
“ the residue of that time, which he had  
“ been so generously and humanely ex-  
“ empted from serving.”

The sum remitted, very greatly exceeded the original cost of the most valuable servant. In this epistle, not the least intimation was given, relative to the circumstance which had enabled a man, so lately at the lowest ebb of misery, to spare from his immediate occasions, so considerable a sum as *thirty pounds*; but an answer was requested, to be addressed to a merchant in London, that the party concerned might be properly apprized his bill was received and acknowledged.

Mr.

Mr. I— was inexpressibly happy in the pleasing reflection, that, by an indulgence of lenity, natural to his disposition, he had been rendered by Heaven the instrument of such unexpected prosperity. He could not, for a moment, admit the idea of appropriating any part of such money to himself, as the payment of a debt which he considered as a free donation to the claims of humanity; but he was naturally anxious to become acquainted with the particular events by which his late servant was so happily situated as to obtain the power of transmitting such a proof of his honesty and gratitude. He, therefore, immediately addressed a letter to the merchant, expressive of the “ satisfaction he experienced in receiving intelligence of such “ an agreeable nature, and desiring him “ to return the note, which he had enclosed for that purpose, into the hands “ of the party who had conceived it his

“ duty to transmit it, with earnest wishes,  
“ that his future successes might amply  
“ compensate for every former calamity.  
“ He had only to request, that by an early  
“ opportunity, he would afford him the  
“ satisfaction of knowing, by what un-  
“ expected circumstance he had been so  
“ rapidly, and so providentially favoured  
“ with the smiles of fortune.”

By the return of the first ship, an answer from the agent arrived. The bill was sent back, with an earnest entreaty, that if Mr. J—— refused to apply it to his particular occasions, he would appropriate it to some charitable purpose: that with respect to the situation of the man, formerly his servant, there were powerful reasons which precluded him from giving the information he requested. All that he was at liberty to disclose was, that the person who had visited America, under  
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circumstances so desperate and forlorn ; who had been necessitated to become a common indented servant, subject to all the hardships and miseries incident to so abject a condition, was, by an astonishing transition of fortune, elevated to a very affluent and respectable situation in his native country.

The above particulars were delivered to me by the benevolent master himself, who during a course of years, has assiduously endeavoured, by every eligible mode of inquiry, to develop a secret so industriously concealed from his knowledge : but every method has hitherto proved ineffectual ; and he has now relinquished the idea of having so natural a curiosity, even confidentially gratified.

LETTER

## L E T T E R VII.

*Annapolis, Jan. 18, 1771.*

**Y**OU observe, that in the course of my correspondence, I have not particularly mentioned any towns of consequence, within the limits of this government. In all probability, from the multitude of rivers which, with their branches, intersect this country in almost every direction, Maryland will never abound with ports, or establishments of any considerable magnitude. By the advantage of so many navigable waters, an opportunity is afforded to ship the produce of many extensive districts, even at the doors of the respective planters; who, consequently, have not that inducement, common to most countries, for establishing themselves in populous communities.

Frederick

Frederick County alone, from its interior situation, appears precluded from this benefit. But should a plan, now in agitation, to remove the obstructions in the great river Patowmac, be attended with the desired consequences, that very fertile and extensive country will, in a great measure, participate in the advantages which are common to the other parts of the province.

On the arrival of Lord Baltimore, the original proprietor, with those families who had emigrated under the grant which he had obtained from the Crown, the first establishment was formed on the northern shore of the Patowmac. The bounds of a town were ascertained; temporary habitations were erected; and this place, which was destined to be the seat of government, was distinguished by the name of St. Mary's Town. But in process of time,

time, that situation at the southern extremity of the province, was considered to be inconvenient for the dispatch of public business; and another spot more central was selected, which appeared to possess every possible advantage. Proper encouragement was given to promote population; a charter of incorporation was obtained; and the new metropolis, in honour of the then reigning monarch, received the appellation of Annapolis.

In a former letter, I attempted to convey some idea of the truly picturesque and beautiful situation of our little capital. Several of the most opulent families have here established their residence; and hospitality is the characteristic of the inhabitants. Party prejudices have little influence on social intercourse: the grave and ancient enjoy the blessings of a respectable society,



society, while the young and gay have various amusements to engage their hours of relaxation, and to promote that mutual connexion so essential to their future happiness.

You well know, that I have ever been strongly attached to the rational entertainment resulting from theatrical exhibitions. When I bade farewell to England, I little expected that my passion for the drama could have been gratified, in any tolerable degree, at a distance so remote from the great mart of genius; and I brought with me strong prepossessions in behalf of favourite performers, whose merits were fully established, by the universal sanction of intelligent judges. My pleasure and my surprise were therefore excited in proportion, on finding performers in this country equal, at least, to those who sustain the best of the first characters in your most celebrated provincial

provincial theatres. Our governor, from a strong conviction that the stage, under proper regulations, may be rendered of general utility, and made subservient to the great interests of religion and virtue, patronizes the American Company; and as their present place of exhibition is on a small scale, and inconveniently situated, a subscription, by his example, has been rapidly completed to erect a new theatre, on a commodious, if not an elegant plan. The manager is to deliver tickets for two seasons, to the amount of the respective subscriptions; and it is imagined, that the money which will be received at the doors, from non-subscribers, will enable him to conduct the business without difficulty; and when the limited number of performances is completed, the intire property is to be vested in him. This will be a valuable addition to our catalogue of amusements. The building is already in a state  
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of forwardness, and the day of opening is anxiously expected. This circumstance has carried me inadvertently from my proper subject. Give me pardon for the digression. I will return into the road from which I deviated.

Annapolis, with every advantage to render it an agreeable residence, labours under inconveniences which will greatly impede its progress to commercial importance. The harbour, as I have formerly observed, is not sufficiently commodious for vessels of considerable burden; and the road is too much exposed, to lade or unlade with safety or convenience. But the province has been amply compensated for this disappointment, by the rise of a settlement, which in the memory of many persons now in being, has increased with the most astonishing rapidity; and promises, by an equal progress, to rank with the most populous

and opulent establishments on this side the Atlantic.

This place, which is named Baltimore, in compliment to the proprietary-family, is situated on the northern branch of the river Patapsco, about thirty miles higher up the bay of Chesapeake than Annapolis; and at nearly the same distance by land. Within these few years some scattered cottages were only to be found on this spot, occupied by obscure storekeepers, merely for the supply of the adjacent plantations. But the peculiar advantages it possesses, with respect to the trade of the frontier counties of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, so strongly impressed the mind of Mr. John Stevenson, an Irish gentleman, who had settled in the vicinity in a medical capacity, that he first conceived the important project, of rendering this port the grand emporium of Maryland

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land commerce. He accordingly applied himself, with assiduity, to the completion of his plan. The neighbouring country being fertile, well settled, and abounding in grain; Mr. S——— contracted for considerable quantities of wheat, he freighted vessels, and consigned them to a correspondent in his native country: the cargoes sold to great advantage, and returns were made equally beneficial. The commencement of a trade so lucrative to the first adventurers, soon became an object of universal attention. Persons of a commercial and enterprising spirit, emigrated from all quarters to this new and promising scene of industry. Wharfs were constructed; elegant and convenient habitations were rapidly erected; marshes were drained; spacious fields were occupied for the purposes of general utility; and within forty years, from its first commencement, Baltimore became not only the most weal-

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thy and populous town in the province, but inferior to few on this continent, either in size, number of inhabitants, or the advantages arising from a well-conducted and universal commercial connexion\*.

The third place of importance in the province of Maryland, is situated about seventy miles west of Annapolis, and is the capital of a most extensive, fertile, and populous county. Frederick Town is the name of this settlement. Within fifty years, the river Monocacy, about three miles to the eastward, was the extreme boundary of cultivated establishments; and

\* Soon after the appointment of Mr. Eden to the government of Maryland, Sir William Draper arrived in that province, on a tour throughout the continent. He contemplated the origin of Baltimore, and its rapid progress, with astonishment; and when introduced, by the governor, to the worthy founder, he elegantly accosted him by the appellation of the American Romulus.

Mr.

Mr. D——, father to the present secretary of the province, was much censured for having procured considerable tracts of lands, in the vicinity of that river, which it was generally supposed could not even repay the trifling charge of the purchase, for many succeeding generations. The richness of the soil, and the salubrity of the air, operated, however, very powerfully to promote population; but what chiefly tended to the advancement of settlement in this remote district, was the arrival of many emigrants from the palatinate, and other Germanic States. These people who, from their earliest days, had been disciplined in habits of industry, sobriety, frugality, and patience, were peculiarly fitted for the laborious occupations of felling timber, clearing land, and forming the first improvements; and the success which attended their efforts, induced multitudes of their enterprising countrymen

to abandon their native homes, to enjoy the plenteous harvest which appeared to await their labours in the wild, uncultivated wastes of America.

The Germans were not the only people sensible of the advantages to be derived from establishments in this interior country. Many British adventurers, and natives of the coast, where land was becoming scarce and difficult to be acquired, were equally emulous on this occasion; and it is astonishing how soon extensive forests became highly cultivated, and promising settlements began on all sides to extend themselves.

To supply the real and imaginary necessities of those, by whose persevering efforts, and penetrating genius, immense uncultivated tracts became flourishing establishments, storekeepers of various denominations

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tions were encouraged to pursue the path which industry had pointed out. Warehouses were accordingly erected, and woollens, linnens, and implements of husbandry, were first presented to the view of the laborious planter. As wealth and population increased, wants were created, and many considerable demands, in consequence, took place for the various elegancies, as well as necessities of life : and thus, by imperceptible degrees, from an humble beginning, has Frederick Town arisen to its present flourishing state.

This place exceeds Annapolis in size, and in the number of inhabitants. It contains one large and convenient church, for the members of the established religion ; and several chapels for the accommodation of the German and other dissenters. The buildings, though mostly of wood, have a neat and regular appearance. Provisions

are cheap, plentiful, and excellent. In a word, here are to be found all conveniences, and many superfluities ; a lucrative trade is supported with the back country, and a considerable quantity of grain is sent from hence, by land carriage, to Baltimore, for exportation to the European markets.

The above excepted, there are not any towns of consequence in the province of Maryland ; the rest, which bear that denomination, are rather inconsiderable villages, the residence of a few merchants and storekeepers, with a sufficient assortment of goods for the supply of the neighbourhood.

Ship building, throughout this continent, is a very lucrative and extensive branch of business ; and I am assured by many, who are esteemed competent judges, that American vessels are, in general, moulded  
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in a very elegant and superior stile. The immense quantity of useful timber to be found, even on the banks of almost every river, gives the shipwright peculiar advantages. These vessels, when perfectly completed, exclusive of particular decorations, are freighted with produce to some British port, and are generally sold after the delivery of their respective cargoes.

As an Englishman, I cannot but enjoy the reflection, that Great Britain will ever maintain a decided superiority in the durability and intrinsic value of her shipping. Were a judgment, indeed, to be formed from external appearances, a casual observer would fail to decide, as to this article, in favour of Maryland, and the adjacent provinces; American oak, greatly exceeding the British in size and foliage; but when the growth is taken into

consideration, a manifest advantage is evident in favour of the oaks of Britain. On this continent, this very useful and valuable timber attains its highest state of perfection in about fifty or sixty years: the natural consequence is, that being of a light and porous quality, it will not endure the depredations of time, in any degree equal to that which advances by slow degrees to maturity. I have heard it asserted, by persons of undoubted knowledge and experience, that an English ship, formed of solid and well-seasoned materials, is worth more after a service of twenty years, than the generality of American vessels that have failed only seven.

This reason, I think, strongly operates against those, who penetrating into futurity, predict that the colonists must inevitably, before many years are passed, be-

come great and formidable as a maritime power; since the necessity under which they must labour, of frequently rebuilding, in order to support a navy, cannot but be attended with expences that will require immense revenues; so as always to check their progress towards that distinction to which they may possibly aspire.

LETTER

## LETTER VIII.

*Annapolis, Nov. 2, 1771.*

**I**N this remote region, my dear friend, the phantom pleasure is pursued with as much avidity as on your side of the Atlantic; and certainly with as much gratification, except by the injudicious herd who form ideas of happiness from comparison alone.

Our races, which are just concluded, continued four days, and afforded excellent amusement to those who are attached to the pleasures of the turf; and, surprising as it may appear, I assure you there are few meetings in England better attended, or where more capital horses are exhibited.

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In order to encourage the breed of this noble animal, a jockey club has been instituted, consisting of many principal gentlemen in this and in the adjacent provinces, many of whom have imported from Britain, at a very great expence, horses of high reputation.

In America, the mild beauties of the autumnal months amply compensate for the fervent heats of summer, and the rigid severity of winter. Nothing could exceed the charming serenity of the weather during these races; in consequence of which there was a prodigious concourse of spectators, and considerable sums were depending on the contest of each day. On the first, a purse of one hundred guineas was run for, free only for the members of the club; and on the three following days subscription purses of fifty pounds each. Assemblies, and theatrical representations, were

were the amusements of the evening, at which the company exhibited a fashionable and brilliant appearance.

Our new theatre, of which I gave you an account in a former letter, was opened to a numerous audience the week preceding the races. The structure is not inelegant, but, in my opinion, on too narrow a scale for its length; the boxes are commodious, and neatly decorated; the pit and gallery are calculated to hold a number of people without incommoding each other; the stage is well adapted for dramatic and pantomimical exhibitions; and several of the scenes reflect great credit on the ability of the painter. I have before observed, that the performers are considerably above mediocrity; therefore little doubt can be entertained of their preserving the public favour, and reaping a plenteous harvest,

Thus



Thus far on the article of pleasure. I shall conclude with an observation of a serious nature.

In the course of my excursions, I have conversed with divers intelligent planters, who emigrated to this country, on account of various discouraging circumstances which baffled their utmost industry at home. A principal cause which has been assigned by very many for becoming adventurers in this part of the world, is the custom, which is becoming too prevalent in England, of farming extensive farms, for the accommodation of wealthy tenants, and for greater facility in collecting the rents.

Whatever present advantages may arise from this practice, be assured a perseverance therein will be attended with consequences very prejudicial, for by this means a sensible depopulation will ensue ;

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a considerable tract of country will be occupied by few inhabitants, and a multitude of valuable members of the community, will be obliged to abandon their homes and connexions, and to court fortune in a distant region, where land may be procured for a trifling consideration, and where the greatest encouragement is held out to skill and application.

Reason and experience incontestibly prove that in the number of inhabitants consists the power and prosperity of the state. Agriculture, manufactures, and arts, are founded on population, and a government naturally becomes wealthy and formidable, by the strenuous exertions of industrious competition.

LETTER

## L E T T E R IX.

*Annapolis, Dec. 24, 1771.*

THE intense heat which prevails during the summer, and the extremity of cold in winter, I well know has been asserted to be highly prejudicial to the constitution; though for my own part I have not been sensible of any material inconvenience from the opposite quality of the seasons, but have continued to enjoy uninterrupted health and spirits.

The variations of the weather are certainly more sudden in this part of America, than even in the changeable climate of Britain. During one part of the day I have frequently thought the lightest apparel scarcely supportable; when in a moment a north-west wind has created sensations of a very different nature, and a substantial

suit of broad cloth has scarcely been sufficient to repel the cold.

Whatever you have heard relative to the rigid puritanical principles and economical habits of our American brethren, is by no means true when applied to the inhabitants of the southern provinces. Liberality of sentiment, and genuine hospitality, are every where prevalent; and I am persuaded they too frequently mistake profuseness for generosity, and impair their health and their fortunes, by splendor of appearance and magnificence of entertainments.

The quick importation of fashions from the mother country is really astonishing. I am almost inclined to believe, that a new fashion is adopted earlier by the polished and affluent American, than by many opulent persons in the great metropolis; nor are opportunities wanting to display superior elegance. We have varied amusements,  
and

and numerous parties, which afford to the young, the gay, and the ambitious, an extensive field to contend in the race of vain and idle competition. In short, very little difference is, in reality, observable in the manners of the wealthy colonist and the wealthy Briton. Good and bad habits prevail on both sides the Atlantic.

It is but justice to confess, that the American ladies possess a natural ease and elegance in the whole of their deportment; and that while they assiduously cultivate external accomplishments, they are still anxiously attentive to the more important embellishments of the mind. In conversation they are generally animated, and entertaining, and deliver their sentiments with affability and propriety. In a word, there are, throughout these colonies, very many lovely women, who have never passed the bounds of their respective provinces, and yet, I am persuaded, might appear to great

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advantage in the most brilliant circles of gaiety and fashion.

In this country the marriage ceremony is universally performed in the dwelling houses of the parties. The company, who are invited, assemble early in the evening, and after partaking of tea and other refreshments, the indissoluble contract is completed. The bride and bridegroom then receive the accustomed congratulations: cards and dancing immediately succeed: an elegant supper, a cheerful glass, and the convivial song close the entertainment.

There are few places where young people are more frequently gratified with opportunities of associating together than in this country. Besides our regular assemblies, every mark of attention is paid to the patron Saint of each parent dominion; and St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David, are celebrated with every partial

tial mark of national attachment. General invitations are given, and the appearance is always numerous and splendid.

The Americans on this part of the continent, have likewise a Saint, whose history, like those of the above venerable characters, is lost in fable and uncertainty. The first of May is, however, set apart to the memory of Saint Tamina, on which occasion the natives wear a piece of a buck's tail in their hats, or in some conspicuous situation. During the course of the evening, and generally in the midst of a dance, the company are interrupted by the sudden intrusion of a number of persons habited like Indians, who rush violently into the room, singing the war song, giving the whoop, and dancing in the stile of those people; after which ceremony a collection is made, and they retire well satisfied with their reception and entertainment.

In this province there are scarce any vestiges of the original inhabitants, but it does not appear that their numbers have been reduced by any inhuman or indirect practices of the British settlers. In Dorset County, on the eastern shore of Maryland, there are indeed the remains of a nation, once populous and powerful, who, to this day, retain considerable tracts of valuable land, for which they receive an annual consideration, but by no means equivalent to the real value. When every other Indian nation thought it necessary to retire beyond the range of the European settlements, these people it seems determined to continue on their native spot. But being precluded from their former occupations and pursuits, they became totally indolent and inactive; and a different habit of living, a violent propensity to spirituous liquors, and the havoc occasioned by the small-pox, and other disorders, to which they



they were unaccustomed, reduced their numbers to such a degree, that at this time not twenty of their descendants remain.

Since no charge of cruelty can justly be adduced, it becomes a natural enquiry what is become of those numerous tribes that formerly occupied this fertile territory ?

Maryland, comparatively, is a small province, bounded on the west by the interior counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania : the Indians, from their particular mode of living, require an extensive circuit, depending principally on hunting for their support; and wherever their game becomes scarce, they instantly quit that country for a more eligible situation. As this colony became populous, by the arrival and natural increase of the new adventurers, the Aborigines were circumscribed in their ancient limits, and were consequently induced to relinquish their possessions, for a

supposed equivalent, and retire to a more extensive field of action.

From what cause I cannot ascertain, but the North American Indians have never yet been known to incorporate with Europeans ; nor has any progress yet been made in civilizing their manners, or in reclaiming them from that ignorance in which they are universally involved. Their habits appear rooted beyond the possibility of conviction to remove ; the present moment engrosses every thought, regardless of the events of futurity.

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## L E T T E R X.

*Annapolis, Feb. 17, 1772.*

**I**T is true, my friend, that America is rapidly increasing in population and importance: but a continent so extensive must be very thinly inhabited for many generations. Agriculture must, therefore, be the grand object of colonial attention, to a very distant period. While the people can be more profitably employed, as they now are, in clearing and cultivating land, it will be their interest to import the various manufactures of the mother country, it being evident that every species of goods may be obtained much cheaper, and of a superior quality, through the medium of commercial intercourse, than by any patriotic exertions amongst themselves.

Throughout the whole of the American provinces, there are immense tracts of

unappropriated lands. In every government, offices are established under regal or proprietary authority, for the purpose of granting the same to adventurers on stipulated terms. As the method of proceeding in this business is nearly similar in every part of the continent, an account of the mode adopted with us will give you a general idea of this matter. Take, therefore, the following detail, which I have transcribed from an official record, for your information.

“ All papers relating to the granting of vacant land, within this province, issue out and are recorded in the land office ; and the mode pursued to effect the grant of such vacant lands, is by warrants, either special or common. If the lands are cultivated or improved, they cannot be effected by any other than a special warrant, specifying the particular location and quantity to be effected. And all such warrants  
issue

issue in consequence of an order from the proprietary's agent, intimating that the caution money of five pounds sterling, *per* hundred acres, is paid. The warrant is directed to the surveyor of the county where the land lies, who makes a survey, and returns a certificate thereof into the land office; from whence it is transmitted to the examiner general, and after examination, it is again sent back to the land-office; a patent, or grant, then issues on the certificate, subject to the payment of an annual rent of four shillings sterling for every hundred acres. The fees attending granting the warrant; of the survey in consequence; of the examination of the certificate; issuing patent thereon; and affixing the great seal of the province thereto, will amount to about the sum of seven or eight pounds currency, *per* hundred acres.

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“ The same mode is exactly pursued in common warrants, to effect uncultivated lands, but the expences are rather less.

“ It is to be observed, the aforesaid warrants are to effect lands never before taken up. There are other warrants that issue out of the land-office, such as warrants of re-survey, escheat warrants, and warrants under the proclamation.

“ The first of these are granted to re-survey a tract of land, already patented, and in which the petitioner has a fee-simple; and to add all, or any contiguous vacancy, whether cultivated or otherwise. This warrant, as well as all others, must be executed, or renewed within the first six months from the time of granting, otherwise they are of no force or effect; and any vacant land added, if not paid for within two years from the date of the warrant, (agreeable to sundry proclamations published) will become subject and liable to

to the benefit of the first discoverer thereof. And hence the proclamation warrants take their rise, *for they, and no other warrants,* can legally effect lands thus circumstanced.

“ Warrants of Escheat, are only granted in instances where the original patentees, or persons claiming under them, have died seised in fee, intestate, and without heirs, of tracts of land heretofore granted, with liberty given of effecting, as well such original tracts of Escheat, as any vacant land thereto adjoining. The composition money payable, as in the above cases; with this distinction, that the quality of the escheat land, and improvements thereon, are more particularly described by the surveyor, and from such description the agent, or receiver-general, ascertains the real value of the land so escheated. The petitioner is entitled to one third of the full valuation of the escheat for the discovery; and the residue, together with any vacancy  
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added, must be paid for, to entitle him to a grant. The fees and expences incidental to all these warrants, are considerably more than in primitive surveys, and cannot be particularly ascertained till the whole business is compleated.

“ By an instruction from the Board of revenue, no certificate whatever can be patented, though every requisite be complied with, till it has lain three months in the office. The intention of this instruction is to give persons who might be injured by the operation of secret surveys, an opportunity of contesting such surveys by a caveat.

“ The land-office, and all offices respecting the proprietary's revenue, are, in a great measure, subject to the control of the board of revenue, which was established by the late Lord Proprietary. Upon a declaration of a caveat in the land office, if it should be dissatisfactory to the parties, they



they may appeal to the board of revenue, and have the matter reheard and determined by them."

The annual revenue of the proprietary, arising from the sale of lands, and the yearly quit rent, after deducting all the various charges of government, averages at twelve thousand five hundred pounds *per annum*. All offices, excepting those in the service of the customs, are in his gift, or in the gift of his representative for the time being. This patronage includes a very extensive range of lucrative, and respectful stations; and consequently throws great weight and influence into the scale of government.

This influence is considered by many, as inimical to the essential interests of the people; a spirit of party is consequently excited; and every idea of encroachment is resisted, by the popular faction, with all the warmth of patriotic enthusiasm.

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I have before observed, that elections in this province are triennial. The delegates returned, are generally persons of the greatest consequence in their different counties; and many of them are perfectly acquainted with the political and commercial interests of their constituents. I have frequently heard subjects debated with great powers of eloquence, and force of reason; and the utmost regularity and propriety distinguish the whole of their proceedings.

During the sitting of the assembly, the members of both houses receive a stated sum for their attendance on public business; and the number of days being properly certified, they are regularly paid their respective claims at the conclusion of each session \*.

\* Members of the upper house, nine shillings sterling *per diem*; those of the lower, about eight shillings and six-pence.

Provincial and country magistrates are appointed by the governor. The former are commissioned to try capital offences, and important causes relative to property; the latter preside in the county courts. They have likewise, individually, power to determine causes of the value of forty shillings; and to inflict punishment on servants, complaint being regularly made, and the matter proved by their employers.

The governor has a discretionary authority to pardon persons capitally convicted; and by the principles of the constitution, he is obliged to sign all warrants for the execution of those who suffer agreeable to sentence.

A litigious spirit is very apparent in this country. The assizes are held twice in the year, in the city of Annapolis, and the number of causes then brought forward, is really incredible. Though few of the gentlemen who practice in the courts have been

been regularly called to the bar, there are several who are confessedly eminent in their profession; and those who are possessed of superior abilities, have full employment for the exertion of their talents, and are paid in due proportion by their respective clients.

The natives of these provinces, even those who move in the humbler circles of life, discover a shrewdness and penetration, not generally observable in the mother country. On many occasions, they are inquisitive, even beyond the bounds of propriety; they discriminate characters with the-greatest accuracy; and there are few who do not seem perfectly conversant with the general, and particular interests of the community. An idea of equality also seems generally to prevail, and the inferior order of people pay but little external respect to those who occupy superior stations.

L E T T E R

## L E T T E R    X I.

*Annapolis, Sep. 7th, 1772.*

I AM just returned from an excursion to the frontiers of this province, in which my curiosity was highly gratified. It is impossible to conceive a more rich and fertile country than I have lately traversed; and when it becomes populous in proportion to its extent, Frederick County will, at least, be equal to the most desirable establishment on this side the Atlantic.

In the back settlements, where the inhabitants are but thinly scattered, the face of the country, even at this luxuriant season of the year, exhibited in many places a dreary appearance. Lands, to a very considerable extent, are taken up by persons, who looking to futurity for greater advantages, are content to clear gradually some portions of their domains for im-

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diate subsistence. Not having the means to fell, and carry their timber away, they make a deep incision with an axe entirely round each trunk, at the distance of about four feet from the ground, which occasions the leaves almost instantly to wither; and before the total decay of the tree, Indian corn may be cultivated to great advantage, amidst the immense trunks that fill the dreary forest.

To have the idea of winter impressed on the mind, from external appearances, at a time when nature is fainting beneath the intense heat of an autumnal sun, is, I am inclined to believe, peculiar to this country. In some districts, far as the eye could extend, the leafless trees of an astonishing magnitude crowded on the sight; the creeping ivy only denoting vegetation; at the same time, the face of the earth, was covered with golden crops, which promised,

“ Richly to repay the anxious toil.”

The

The habitations of the planters, in this remote district of the province, are, in general, of a rude construction; the timber with which they frame their dwellings, seldom undergoing the operation of any tool except the axe. An apartment to sleep in, and another for domestic purposes, with a contiguous store-house, and conveniences for their live-stock, at present gratify their utmost ambition. Their method of living, perfectly corresponds with their exterior appearance. Indian corn, beaten in a mortar, and afterwards baked or boiled, forms a dish which is the principal subsistence of the indigent planter, and is even much liked by many persons of a superior class. This, when properly prepared, is called *homony*, and when salt beef, pork, or bacon, is added, no complaints are made respecting their fare.

Throughout the whole of this province, fruit is not only plentiful, but excellent in

various kinds. There are very few plantations unprovided with an apple, and a peach orchard; the peach trees are all standards, and without the assistance of art, frequently produce fruit of an exquisite flavour.

In the woods, I have often met with vines, twining round trees of different denominations; and have gathered from them bunches of grapes of a tolerable size, and not unpleasant to the palate. In process of time, when the colonists are enabled to pay attention to their natural advantages, they will, assuredly, possess all the superfluities, as well as the conveniences of life, without the necessity of recurring to foreign assistance. Even sugar, of a tolerable quality, they will be able to manufacture without application to the British Islands. A planter, at whose house I partook of some refreshment, produced a quantity of that capital luxury, the grain of which was tolerable, and the taste



taste not disagreeable. This, he assured me, was the produce of his own possessions, extracted by incision, from a tree, great numbers of which grow throughout the interior regions of the American provinces \*. The simple process of boiling, brought the luscious liquid to a proper consistency; and he was persuaded, whenever more important concerns would permit a necessary attention to this article, the inhabitants of the British colonies would be amply supplied from their own inexhaustible resources.

About thirty miles west of Fredericktown, I passed through a settlement which is making quick advances to perfection. A German adventurer, whose name is Hagar, purchased a considerable tract of land in this neighbourhood, and with much discernment and foresight, determined to

\* The Maple-tree.

encouragement to traders, and to erect proper habitations for the stowage of goods, for the supply of the adjacent country. His plan succeeded: he has lived to behold a multitude of inhabitants on lands, which he remembered unoccupied; and he has seen erected in places, appropriated by him for that purpose, more than an hundred comfortable edifices, to which the name of Hagar's Town is given, in honour of the intelligent founder.

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## L E T T E R    X I I .

*Annapolis, Oct. 3, 1772.*

**B**Y an act of the assembly of this province, a residence of three years is requisite as a qualification for holding any office immediately dependent on the proprietary. This regulation affords secu-

rity against the intrusion of strangers, who might arrive from the mother country, under a patronage too strong for any local interest.

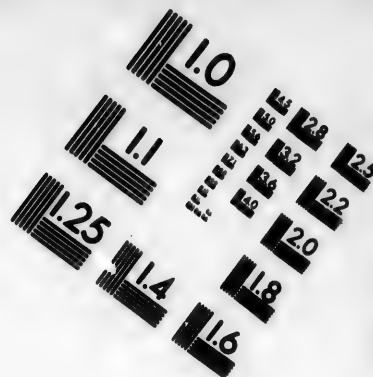
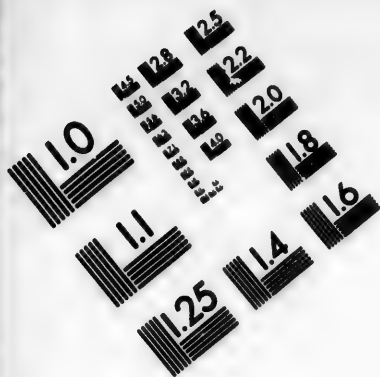
Having happily completed the limited term, I have begun to experience the bounty of my patron, and I find myself already in possession of an office of trust and respectability; and not unauthorized to look forward to a still better provision. I hope it is unnecessary to say, that I am content and grateful under such circumstances, and yet there is something which seems to obscure my prospect, and to lessen that happiness which would otherwise be complete.

It is I know both imprudent and culpable, "to shape the fashion of uncertain evils;" yet it is almost impossible to avoid drawing unfavourable conclusions from that spirit of party which, at this

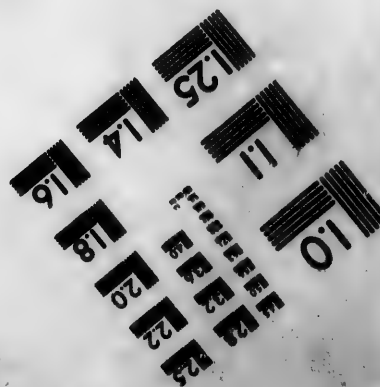
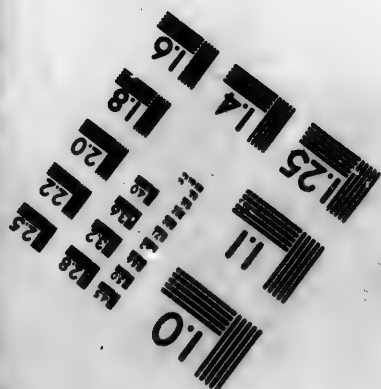
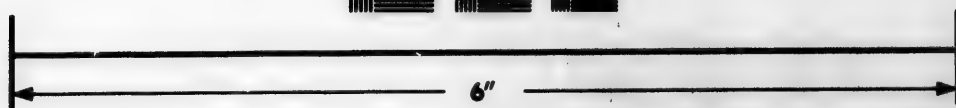
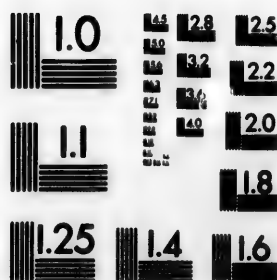
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time, appears predominant throughout the British Colonies.

Under pretence of supporting the sacred claims of freedom, and of justice, factious and designing men are industriously fomenting jealousy and discontent; and unless they are stopt in their progress by the immediate and determined exertions of the wise and moderate, they will aggravate the dissention which is become but too evident, and involve this now happy country in complicated misery.

You may remember that I have occasionally attempted to give my thoughts a poetical dress, and you have been pleased to favour my humble efforts with your partial indulgence. The following lines, the result of reflections on the political state of this empire, I was tempted to give to the editor of the Maryland Gazette, in which they have appeared with some degree of approbation.

Bleft

Blest was that age when, free from maddening strife,  
The peaceful shepherd told his plaintive tale ;  
And, free from all those cares that harrafs life,  
Found real blifs sequester'd in the vale.

Content alone, with ardor, he pursu'd,  
He trac'd her footsteps in the shady grove ;  
His fleecy wealth around he joyous view'd,  
And sung, in artless strains, the force of love !

No proud aspiring thoughts perplex'd his breast,  
Or search of fordid gain his peace destroy'd ;  
Blithe was each day—and when he sunk to rest,  
Sweet were the slumbers which he then enjoy'd.

To polish life, fair Science rear'd her head,  
And numerous arts appear'd to deck the land ;  
Truths moral, and divine their influence shed,  
And social virtues clos'd the shining band.

O had mankind, with noblest views elate,  
Improv'd the blessings Heaven in bounty gave,  
Then had they not suppos'd a partial fate,  
Or shrunk, with horror, from the gloomy grave.

Founded on rapine powerful empires rose,  
And wild Ambition rul'd the human mind,  
Fell Discord pour'd around her baleful woes,  
And friends were faithless !—lovers were unkind !

The scepter'd tyrant, swoln with hopes of fame !  
Exulting thunders from the gorgeous car !  
Dooms realms to slaughter for a pompous name,  
And proudly glories in the guilt of war !

By

Blest



By stern Oppression struck, the helpless poor,  
From much-lov'd cottages, and hamlets fly;  
Depriv'd of all, from Heaven they aid implore,  
Neglected droop, and unlamented die!

Religion! sent by Heaven to heal each grief,  
To point the road where human evils cease;  
Give rankling misery a sure relief;  
And sooth the warring passions into peace;

By bigot Zeal, and Superstition fir'd,  
With horrid Fury scatters death around;  
And deems that wretch most pious,—most inspir'd,  
Who strikes, with ruthless hand, the direful wound!

Sea-girt Britannia! mistress of the isles!  
Where Faith, and Liberty, united reign;  
Around whose fertile shores glad Nature smiles,  
And Ceres crowns with gifts the industrious swain!

Thy generous daring sons have nobly toil'd,  
To guard thy cliffs from arbitrary sway;  
In well fought fields the baffled tyrant foil'd,  
Where glorious Freedom led the arduous way!

Now through the land Dissention stalks confest;  
With ~~the~~ Distrust, and Hatred in her train;  
The dire ~~infection~~ runs from breast to breast,  
And statesmen plan—and patriots plead in vain!

All-gracious Heaven, avert the impending storm,  
Bid every jealous, jarring faction cease;  
Let sweet Content resume her lovely form,  
And o'er the land diffuse perpetual peace:

And,

And, when again our colours are unfurl'd,  
May Britons nobly join one common cause !  
With rapid conquests strike the wondering world,  
In firm support of Liberty and Laws.

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## L E T T E R XIII.

*Annapolis, Feb. 20, 1773.*

**Y**OUR observations on the resources of America are well founded. I grant they are infinite, and I am persuaded that, in process of time, she will be enabled to avail herself of innumerable advantages ; but those that assert she will effectually rival Great Britain in that invaluable staple of her commerce, the *woollen manufactory*, are, indeed, by far too sanguine in their expectations : coarse cloths for the wear of servants and negroes, the  
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colonists may probably be enabled to manufacture, but insurmountable objections arise to the production of those of a superior quality.

To judge of this climate, by the parallel degrees of latitude in Europe, it is natural to conclude, that the middle provinces experience very little of the rigour of winter, and that, in fact, their greatest inconvenience must arise from intense heat, during the summer months. But, extraordinary as it may appear, this country, from local circumstances, is accustomed to every severity of the opposite seasons. I assure you, that I have been less sensible of the influence of the sun in the hottest seasons in the island of Jamaica, than in this part of British America; and I am credibly informed, that no material difference prevails from New York inclusive, to the southern extremity of Virginia. To the northward of New York the winters continue

tinue longer ; the cold is equally intense ; and the summer, for its short duration, hot in proportion. South of Virginia the climate gradually becomes similar to the torrid zone, consequently the wool degenerates, in a regular proportion, until the external covering of the sheep becomes at last a strong coarse hair resembling that of goats.

In Maryland, and in the adjacent provinces, the cold is more severe from January till the beginning of May, than in any part of the island of Great Britain ; in consequence of which the American farmer is reduced to the necessity of housing his sheep during that rigid season. Summer may, literally, be said to be seated on the lap of winter, and the immediate transition from cold to heat is, evidently, extremely prejudicial to the growth and improvement of wool ; so that in quality it is greatly inferior ; nor is the quantity  
pro-

produced proportionable to what is yielded in the milder regions of the parent state.

Under these disadvantages it may reasonably be concluded, that the American settlements will ever be necessitated to look up to Britain for a very considerable supply of her invaluable staple. And even if these causes did not operate, many years must unavoidably elapse before the colonists can establish or conduct manufactures in such a manner, as to enable them to supply, even their own wants, on terms of greater advantage than by relying on external assistance.

This immense continent will require a considerable population before the inhabitants can, with any propriety, divert their attention from agriculture. To settle, and to cultivate lands must be their first great object; and the produce of those exertions they must barter in exchange for European manu-

manufactures. In vain is encouragement held forth, to induce ingenious artizans to emigrate from their original situations. On their arrival, either the allurements which tempted them deceive their expectations; or the natural wish to obtain a permanent establishment, supercedes every other consideration, and induces a great majority of these adventurers to purchase lands which, comparatively, bear no price, and the purchasers are reduced to rely on time and industry to recompence their assiduity.

Another circumstance, very important in its nature, likewise demands attention. The price of labour must be greatly lessened before the Americans can possibly manufacture to any advantage; and this inconvenience cannot be remedied, until, by an overplus of people, there are competitors in every art, and a sufficient number of opulent inhabitants to encourage and reward their ingenuity.

At

At present, it is evident, that almost every article of use or ornament, is to be obtained on much more reasonable terms from the mother country, than from artizans settled on this side the Atlantic. It is also as certain, that goods of every kind produced, or manufactured in England, are greatly superior to the produce or manufactures of this continent. In process of time, but a time far distant, the colonies may, undoubtedly, from their great resources, be enabled to rival Britain in many valuable articles of commerce. But in your grand staple, the growth and manufacture of wool, you will, in a general point of view, stand *single* and *pre-eminent*. Nature, in this particular, has been exuberantly bountiful. Your fertile downs are a source of inexhaustible wealth. Support that superiority, which the benevolence of heaven has blest you with, by a judicious and industrious exertion of local advantages, and the power  
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and splendor of Great Britain will defy the utmost efforts of opposition, and remain for ages with undiminished lustre !

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L E T T E R XIV.

*Annapolis, Oct. 4, 1773.*

**I** THANK you, my dear friend, for your very entertaining and very descriptive detail of the extensive improvements now carrying forward in the British metropolis. If I may presume to compare small things with great, even here we are making considerable advances towards perfection.

About the close of the year 1769, an act of assembly was passed to erect a new  
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stadt-house, on a very enlarged and beautiful plan. This work has been carried on with great dispatch, and, when completed, will, at least, be equal to any public edifice on the American continent. The legislature of this province, animated by sentiments which reflect the highest credit on their patriotism and wisdom, have also determined, by a recent law, to endow and found a college for the education of youth in every liberal and useful branch of science. An institution of this nature was most strongly recommended to their consideration by our worthy governor, at an early period after his arrival in this country; and to his laudable and persevering exertions, the public are materially indebted for the establishment of a seminary which, as it will be conducted under excellent regulations, will shortly preclude the necessity of crossing the Atlantic for the completion of a classical and polite education.

During the administration of Mr. B——, who presided over this province from the year 1742, to the year 1747, a noble mansion was projected for the residence of the governor of Maryland. A delightful situation was appropriated for this purpose on the banks of the Severn, within the limits of the city of Annapolis, commanding, in every point of view, the most interesting and beautiful objects. Materials of every kind were provided equal to the spirit of public liberality, and the building was nearly completed in a stile of superior magnificence, when an unhappy contention, took place between the governor and the delegates of the people, which increased to such a degree, that, at a period, when a very trifling sum would have rendered it a noble habitation, the further prosecution of the design was discontinued, and it has remained to this day, a melancholy and

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mouldering monument of the consequences resulting from political dissensions.

The depredations of time have very greatly injured the interior parts of this edifice, which, in an unfinished state, has continued many years, exposed to every inclemency of weather. However, on a late accurate survey, the outside structure, and the principal timbers, are found in a condition so perfect, that it is determined to repair the damages sustained, and to apply the building to the purposes of collegiate education, for which every circumstance contributes to render it truly eligible. The adjacent country is open and healthy; the contiguous grounds are sufficiently extensive for the advantages of exercise and amusement; and the fabric will contain a variety of spacious and commodious apartments for the accommodation of the professors and students.

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Institutions of this nature are inseparably connected with the interest and happiness of these provinces; but with respect to the parent state, they may possibly be attended with serious consequences. When the real, or supposed necessity ceases of sending the youth of this continent to distant seminaries for the completion of their education, the attachment of the colonies to Great Britain will gradually weaken, and a less frequent intercourse will tend to encourage those sentiments of self-importance which have already taken too deep root, and which, I fear, the utmost exertions of political wisdom will never be able wholly to eradicate. As an Englishman I therefore cannot but view, with a partial regret, every adopted plan that may possibly, in the event, lessen or alienate the affection of the colonists. And though I am sensible the good of the whole ought to supercede every private consideration, yet

I cannot anticipate the future importance and prosperity of America, without a most fervent prayer, that every advantage she may derive from her exertions, may ultimately depend on a permanent and constitutional connexion with the mother country.

To the number of public erections, a new church is likewise to be added; the design of which does great credit to the genius of the architect. It will be large, neat, and commodious; and is to be built on the scite of the ancient edifice, from which many materials will be furnished. This work is to be executed as soon as possible; and we may reasonably expect, if these different undertakings are conducted with judgment, and spirit, that they will be considered as valuable monuments of that refined taste, which so remarkably characterises the present times.

L E T T E R

## L E T T E R XV.

*Annapolis, Nov. 8th, 1773.*

“**A**S water to a thirsty soul, so is news from a far country.” Your circumstantial letter of the fourteenth of September, afforded me the greatest satisfaction: I was at once entertained and instructed, by your very judicious and pointed observations on the present political system. The repeal of the stamp-act, was a wise and necessary measure: but on what principle subsequent laws have been enacted, which have evidently the like tendency, I am at a loss to determine. Were the duties to be regularly collected, in consequence of the acts now in force, the revenue arising from them, would really be inconsiderable. Nor do the colonists ground their objections on the sums which, by this

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means, would be levied on the importation of the enumerated articles ; but they assert, that the principle on which they resist the operation of these laws, is briefly this : “ That they are wholly unconstitutional : and that to admit their legality in a single instance, would undoubtedly be to admit a right, which might be considered by the legislature of Great Britain, as a sufficient authority to tax them at some future period, in any proportion adequate to the real, or supposed exigencies of the state.” How far they are to be justified in this opinion, I am not competent to determine ; but it is evident, that on this side the Atlantic, a spirit of discontent universally prevails ; and there are many desponding individuals here, and in other provinces, who already pretend to penetrate so deep into the events of futurity, as to foretel the most serious consequences.

“ From trivial cause, what mighty evils spring !”

For

For my part, I will not indulge apprehensions of so melancholy a nature.

I have lately received a very sensible, and very entertaining letter, from my valued correspondent, Miss M—— M——, who informs me that her sister H—— has, at length, complied with the requisition of many judicious and impartial friends, and has ventured into public notice, in defiance of criticism. On the 10th of May last, her pastoral poem, 'THE SEARCH AFTER HAPPINESS,' made its first appearance; and so rapid has been its success, that a second large impression took place early in August. Lord Lyttelton, whose refined taste, and accurate discernment, is universally acknowledged, has honoured the amiable author with a letter, expressive of his warmest approbation; and the public prints are unanimous in bearing testimony to her merit. The copy I have received, is in continual circulation, and indeed, it must argue  
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a vitiated and depraved judgment in the reader, not to be charmed with a production formed on a plan subservient to the great interests of religion and virtue, and decorated with all the graces and embellishments of poetry.

After paying this just tribute to the talents of a lady who, I trust, will soon attain a distinguished rank in the literary world, I shall venture to conclude this letter by the insertion of an epilogue, which I wrote a few months since, at the request of a friend, for the benefit of a comedian at the theatre in Philadelphia. As I am informed it was received with approbation by a numerous audience, I shall venture, with the greater confidence, to add this little poetical effusion to your manuscript collection.

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## OCCASIONAL EPILOGUE.

When stern Oppression rear'd her baleful head,  
 To this blest clime our free-born fathers fled :  
 Secure from lawless sway, they chearful toil'd,  
 And soon the grateful glebe with plenty smil'd ;  
 Cities arose, while Commerce pour'd her store,  
 And wealth flow'd in from every distant shore.

*Now* polish'd ease, and manners shine confest,  
 While ardent Freedom warms each generous breast:  
 Dark brooding Ignorance has wing'd her flight,  
 And heav'n-born Science beams with radiant light:  
 The sister arts, with rapid progress rise ;  
 Proud lofty towers and columns reach the skies :  
 The genial virtues here united reign,  
 And modest Merit never sues in vain.

Among the numerous objects of your care,  
 Let this, our moral stage, your goodness share :  
 Fir'd with your praise, dependant still on you,  
 The steep ascent with ardor we pursue ;  
 No ribald scenes we offer to your sight,  
 But "such as Virtue views with fond delight."

Bold is the attempt, in various forms to please,  
 And, Proteus-like, shift every form with ease ;  
 In quick transition ever yet to move,  
 From comic humour, to disastrous love !  
 Trace Nature's paths, nor deviate from her laws,  
 Which can alone secure a just applause.

I, who am yet a novice on the stage,  
 What claim have I, your favour to engage ?  
 Yet, spite of each defect, still have I found,  
 Beyond my fondest hopes, my wishes crown'd.

O still

O still assist me, while I boldly aim  
To catch some portion of dramatic fame:  
So may kind Heaven repay your generous aid,  
And rankling sorrows ne'er your peace invade;  
But, blest'd supremely, may you ever prove  
The sweets of Liberty!—the joys of Love!

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## L E T T E R XVI.

*Annapolis, Jan. 3d, 1774.*

THE American prints will inform you, ere you receive this, of the recent proceedings at Boston. The whole quantity of tea, contained on board three vessels, amounting to three hundred and forty-two chests, was on the 16th of December, immersed in the bay. The East India Company are the only sufferers on this occasion; as all accounts perfectly correspond in asserting, that this hasty business was transacted without the least detriment

triment to private property. New York, Philadelphia, Charles Town, and other places it is universally imagined, will pursue similar measures. Vast as this continent is, the inhabitants appear animated, to a degree of frenzy, with the same spirit of opposition. Where the consequences will terminate, Heaven knows! If a judgment may be formed from the present disposition of the people, I will venture to assert, that not the least future taxation will ever be admitted here, without what they conceive, a legal representation.

As an Englishman, warmly attached to my native country, and anxious for its honour and prosperity; I view the impending storm with inexpressible inquietude. I fear my friend, our statesmen have promoted measures which they will be equally embarrassed to enforce, or defend. But these are matters too high for my discussion; I detest politics, and shall, therefore, leave you to make

make your own comments. I and mine are well ; would I could say we were perfectly happy ! Have I not reason to apprehend my establishment is not so permanent as my flattering ideas had suggested ? Should the storm burst, it must inevitably involve, in the same ruin, multitudes who think differently, and are equally actuated by conscientious principles.

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## L E T T E R    XVII.

*Annapolis, May 28, 1774.*

**A**LL America is in a flame !—I hear strange language every day. The colonists are ripe for any measures that will tend to the preservation of what they call, their natural liberty. I enclose you the resolves of *our* citizens ; *they* have caught

caught the general contagion\*. Expresses are flying from province to province. It is the universal opinion *here*, that the mother country cannot support a contention with these settlements, if they abide steady to the letter and spirit of their associations.

Where

\* At a meeting of the inhabitants of the city of Annapolis, on Wednesday, the twenty-fifth day of May, 1774, after notice given of the time, place, and occasion of this meeting;

Resolved, "that it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting, that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America, and that it is incumbent on every colony in America, to unite in effectual measures to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston.

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that if the colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from, and exportations to Great Britain, till the said act be repealed, the same will preserve North America, and her liberties."

Resolved therefore, "That the inhabitants of this city will join in an association with the several counties of this province, and the principal provinces of America, to put an immediate stop to all exports to Great Britain, and that after a short day, hereafter to be agreed on, that there shall be no imports from Great Britain,

Where will these matters end? Imagination anticipates, with horror, the most dreadful consequences. If the measures adopted at home are founded on the principles of justice, it will become administration to be firm and decisive. If they are not, it

Britain, till the said act be repealed, and that such association be on oath.

“ That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the gentlemen of the law of this province bring no suit for the recovery of any debt, due from any inhabitant of this province to any inhabitant of Great Britain, until the said act be repealed.

“ That the inhabitants of this city will, and it is the opinion of this meeting, that this province ought immediately to break off all trade and dealings with that colony or province, which shall refuse or decline to come into similar resolutions with a majority of the colonies.

“ That Messieurs John Hall, Charles Carroll, Thomas Johnson, jun. William Paca, Matthias Hammond, and Samuel Chase, be a committee for this city, to join with those who shall be appointed for Baltimore Town, and other parts of this province, to constitute one general committee; and that the gentlemen appointed for this city immediately correspond with Baltimore town, and other parts of this province, to effect such association as will secure American liberty.

will

will be adviseable, even on the score of interest, not to abandon the substance for a shadow. True policy will suggest the expediency of embracing a conciliatory system.

*June 5th.*

The Governor left Annapolis on the twenty-eighth of last month, in order to embark for England; where his private concerns require, for a time, his presence. He is now with his friend, Colonel F——, at the mouth of the Potaxent. His dispatches are to leave town this evening, as the ship will certainly sail in the course of the week.

You will observe, that the inclosed resolutions of the citizens of Annapolis took place in consequence of the act of Parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston.

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The meeting at which these resolutions were passed, was on Wednesday the twenty-fifth of May. But as it was evident that the majority by which they were carried, did not consist of the most respectable inhabitants, a protest made its appearance on the ensuing Monday, signed by one hundred and thirty-five persons \*, amongst whom

\* T O T H E P R I N T E R S .

*May 30th, 1774.*

A publication of the enclosed protest, supported by the names of a considerable number of the inhabitants of the city of Annapolis, will, it is presumed, furnish the most authentic grounds for determining the sense of the majority, on a question of the last importance.

We whose names are subscribed, inhabitants of the city of Annapolis, conceive it our clear right, and most incumbent duty, to express our cordial and explicit disapprobation of a resolution which was carried by forty-seven against thirty-one, at the meeting held on the 27th instant.

The resolution against which we protest, in the face of the world, is the following.

“ That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the gentlemen of the law of this province, bring no suit for the recovery

whom are to be found many of the first importance in this city, and in the neighbourhood. You will, I doubt not, be pleased to see that I have taken this opportunity of avowing my sentiments on a subject, which equally affects private reputation and public faith.

I need not mention, that it is *a particular resolution* against which the protest is levelled; the others being of too popular a nature

recovery of any debt, due from any inhabitant of this province, to any inhabitant of Great Britain, until the said act be repealed."—*Dissentient*.

First, Because we are impressed with a full conviction, that this resolution is founded in treachery and rashness, in as much as it is big with bankruptcy and ruin to those inhabitants of Great Britain, who, relying with unlimited security on our good faith and integrity, have made us masters of their fortunes; condemning them *unheard*, for not having interposed their influence with parliament in favour of the town of Boston, without duly weighing the force, with which that influence would probably have operated; or whether, in their conduct, they were actuated by wisdom and policy, or by *corruption* and *avarice*.

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Secondly.

a nature to admit of opposition. And, indeed, the generality of those who have ventured to assert the claims of honour, to discharge their pecuniary obligations to the mother country, are considered, by the more violent party, as actuated by sentiments inimical to the interests of America: and it is even said, that they would combat every attempt to obtain a repeal of the obnoxious acts, if they were not apprehensive of incurring the just

Secondly, Because whilst the inhabitants of Great Britain are partially despoiled of every legal remedy to recover what is justly due to them, no provision is made to prevent us from being harrassed by the prosecution of internal suits, but our fortunes and persons are left at the mercy of domestic creditors, without a possibility of extricating ourselves, unless by a general convulsion; an event, in the contemplation of sober reason, replete with horror.

Thirdly, Because our credit, as a commercial people, will expire under the wound; for what confidence can possibly be reposed in those, who shall have exhibited the most avowed, and most striking proof that they are not bound by obligations as sacred as human invention can suggest.

resent-

resentment of an injured people. For my own part, I verily believe that the majority of the subscribers are influenced by motives which reflect the highest credit on their integrity, independent of political considerations.

It is here necessary that I clear up a seeming contradiction. The resolutions inserted in the Gazette are dated the twenty-fifth : the protest alludes to transactions on the twenty-seventh. After the publication of the resolves entered into, in consequence of the meeting held on the first-mentioned day, several gentlemen of influence and respectability had the courage to declare, in the most express terms, that if the sentiments of the people were properly collected, it would not appear that the whole of the proceedings received their unanimous approbation. To obviate this objection, hand-bills were distributed, and a general attendance was earnestly re-

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quested ;

quested; in consequence of which, on the evening of the twenty-seventh, a second assembly of the citizens took place. But instead of associating with that ardor the zealous partizans expected, ONLY seventy-eight persons were mustered on the important occasion. Had the whole number of those whose principles were directed by moderation, thought it safe, or prudent to appear in support of their sentiments, the iniquitous resolution, against which we have protested, would not have publicly appeared, to the discredit of our province; even admitting the conduct of Government with respect to this continent, to be founded on maxims subversive of the constitution. Surely, in a moral point of view, it is highly criminal to attempt, by unjust or indirect methods, to obtain a redress of the most oppressive grievances,

In these tempestuous times, your dear sister supports her spirits wonderfully; yet  
are

are there moments, when she yields to bod-  
ing apprehensions, and anticipates the re-  
newal of sorrows and disappointments. She  
has, however, this consolation to support  
her, that whatever sufferings may be our  
portion, we shall share them with each  
other.

It is my solemn determination, without  
regard to motives of interest or safety, to act  
strictly upon principle. And though *my*  
conduct will be of very little importance,  
considered in a *public* point of view, yet  
under all the varied circumstances of pros-  
perity or distress, the reflection of having  
acted agreeably to the dictates of conscience,  
will enhance the advantages of affluence,  
or animate the mind to sustain, with be-  
coming fortitude, the most painful, and  
unmerited reverse of fortune.

That the general tranquility may be  
speedily re-established, is the fervent prayer  
of your faithful, &c.

M 4

L E T.

## LETTER XVIII.

*Annapolis, Oct. 26, 1774.*

**T**HE general attention is fixed on the Congress now sitting in Philadelphia, and all descriptions of people are waiting for the result of their deliberations, with the utmost impatience.

The Canada Bill is as unpopular here as the Boston Port-bill, and adds greatly to the universal discontent. The provinces are unanimous in the cause of their northern brethren, and contribute largely in supplying their necessities. The spirit of opposition to ministerial measures, appears to blaze steadily and equally in every part of British America, and unless some speedy alteration takes place in the political system, the consequences must inevitably be dreadful.

Every

Every well-wisher to the interest and happiness of the mother country, and her colonies, must behold this unnatural contest with inexpressible anxiety. There never was a period in our history, more critical than the present. It is high time some methods were adopted to conciliate these growing differences. The colonies are daily gaining incredible strength. They *know*, they *feel*, their importance; and *persuasion*, not *force*, must retain them in obedience.

A general non-importation agreement will, speedily, take place; and I have reason to believe, will be resolutely adhered to. It is therefore to be feared, the manufacturers and artificers in Britain will be much distressed, and probably driven to great extremities. For I need not observe to a man so conversant as you are with the commercial interests of the empire, how  
severely

Every



severely the mother country must suffer by an interruption of her extensive trade with this continent. It is the universal doctrine *here*, that it will plunge you into violent commotions, and probably be attended with fatal consequences \*.

A serious transaction took place, a few days since, in this city. The affair is par-

\* The separation of America from Great Britain was contemplated, by persons of all descriptions, as pregnant with ruin to both countries. It must be granted, that in consequence of this event very many deserving individuals have experienced a reverse of fortune which has subjected them to innumerable difficulties and distresses: but in a political point of view, this dreaded revolution has been attended with circumstances highly beneficial to the parent state. The superiority of the manufactures of Britain, and the established knowledge of her merchants in all the articles essential for the American market, have given them decided advantages over every rival nation. Similarity of language, customs, and opinions, likewise powerfully operate in favour of the mother country; so that, at this period, with every pleasing prospect of an uninterrupted continuation, Britain supports a more extensive and a more lucrative commerce with the United States, than at any time during their immediate connexion as a part of her Empire.

partially

tially represented in the Maryland Gazette. I attended the whole progress of the business, and was active in my exertions to prevent the extremities to which some frantic zealots proceeded.

On Saturday the fifteenth instant, the brig Peggy, Stewart, arrived from London with servants, and an inconsiderable quantity of goods, among which were seventeen packages, containing two thousand, three hundred, and twenty pounds of tea, consigned to Thomas Charles Williams and company, merchants, in Annapolis. This intended importation was immediately discovered, and the citizens were summoned to a general meeting. On examination it appeared, that Messrs. Williams had, on this occasion, imported a larger quantity of that detestable plant, as it is here termed, than by any former opportunity; and that Mr. Anthony Stewart, the proprietor  
of

of the vessel, had paid the duties thereon ; though he was not, in any shape, concerned in the property. This was deemed a submission to the contested claim of the British Parliament. Very severe censures were accordingly passed on the parties concerned, and a general spirit of resentment appeared to predominate. After various modes of proceeding had been proposed, and discussed, it was determined to appoint a committee to attend the vessel, and prevent the landing of the tea, until the sense of the county could be fully collected. The ensuing Wednesday was appointed for that purpose, and proper measures were pursued to give the necessary information.

Mr. Stewart, apprehensive of the consequences likely to ensue, with great propriety solicited a previous meeting of the citizens on the following Monday ; trusting that, by a timely submission, measures  
might

might be taken to prevent the assembling of so numerous a body as were expected to come in from the country; from whom he had much to fear with respect to his person and his property.

At this meeting it was proposed, by the moderate party, that Messrs. Stewart and Williams, who were desirous to make atonement for the offence they had committed, might be permitted to land and burn the tea, in any place that should be appointed for that purpose. This motion was, however, strongly opposed by others, who insisted on matters remaining as they were, until the time appointed for the county meeting, in order that a more public acknowledgment and satisfaction might be made.

Mr. Stewart, with a view to moderate the resentment which his conduct had unhappily occasioned, distributed the following

ing hand-bill and affidavit, which were also publicly read ; but without any apparent effect in his favour.

“ To the Gentlemen of the Committee, the Citizens of Annapolis, and the Inhabitants of Ann Arundel County.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I find by a hand-bill, that you are requested to meet to take into consideration what is proper to be done with the tea, the property of Thomas C. Williams and Co. now on board the brig Peggy, Stewart, and finding my conduct censured for having paid the duty on that tea to the collector, I take the liberty to present a plain narrative of the part I have acted therein, and the motives by which I was actuated. Deeply interested as I am in the peace and harmony of this country, no man would be farther than myself from taking any  
steps

steps to disturb them. I am not in the least connected with any thing that relates merely to the importation ; indeed so cautious have I been of infringing in the least, any of the resolutions of America, that I did not order a single farthing's worth of goods by that vessel, though I could have done it on such easy terms as to freight, and shipping charges ; much less should I have thought of ordering any tea, after the disturbance which the importation of that article had occasioned on the continent. When the brig arrived, the captain informed me she was very leaky, and that the sooner she was unloaded the better. I told him to enter his vessel, but not the tea, which I found, on enquiry of the collector, could not be done. Under these circumstances, the brig leaky, and fifty-three souls on board, where they had been near three months, I thought myself bound, both in humanity and prudence, to enter the

the vessel, and leave the destination of the tea to the committee. The impropriety of securing the duty did not then occur to me, neither did I know the tea would be suffered to be lodged as a security for the payment. I had nothing in view but to save the vessel from a seizure, and of having an opportunity of releasing the passengers from a long and disagreeable confinement. The duty on tea has been paid hitherto, both in Virginia and Maryland, by every importer of goods: in this case I am not the importer. If I have erred in my part of the transaction, I declare, upon my honour, it is without the least intention; I have infringed no rules prescribed by the general resolutions of this province. It happened unluckily, that the tea was put on board of Captain Jackson's brig, in the manner as will be seen by the annexed affidavit; and it can be incontestibly proved, the captain refused taking tea on board:

Mr.

Mr. Williams was in London when the tea was shipped, and must have known that many merchants had refused to ship that article. I have only to add, that I am sincerely sorry my conduct, on this occasion, has been the cause of so much uneasiness, and freely submit it to your candid consideration.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Annapolis,  
Oct. 17, 1774.

Your most humble servant,  
ANTHONY STEWART."

### A F F I D A V I T.

Captain Richard Jackson, master of the brig Peggy Stewart, deposeth and saith,  
 " That immediately after the landing of  
 " his cargo in London, he applied for, and  
 " obtained a *general* permit from the Custom-house, to receive *India and other*  
 " *goods* on board for exportation; and, (as  
 " is always customary in such cases) gave  
 N " security,



“ security, and took an oath not to re-  
“ land the same in any part of Great Bri-  
“ tain. But having great reason to be-  
“ lieve any importation of tea would be  
“ unfavourably received in America, he  
“ was fully determined, and had resolved  
“ not to receive any on board; and pub-  
“ licly on the Change of London, in the  
“ month of July, refused to receive tea,  
“ which was offered to be shipped by Kel-  
“ ly, Lott, and Co. This deponent fur-  
“ ther saith, that by the method of ship-  
“ ping goods from London, *tea* may be  
“ put on board any ship, without the  
“ knowledge of the master. All goods  
“ are examined at the Custom-house, and  
“ sent, by the shipper, in lighters, on  
“ board the ship, with only a common  
“ bill expressing the parcels, and not the  
“ quantities contained, or the qualities of  
“ them; these are received by the mate  
“ of the ship, who gives a receipt on the

“ lighter-bill, which is again returned to  
 “ the shipper, and the master signs his bills  
 “ of lading *at London*, by the lighter-bill,  
 “ specifying the parcels, without know-  
 “ ing the contents, and clears out the ship  
 “ at the Custom-house with merchandize,  
 “ without knowing or mentioning of what  
 “ nature. The cockets containing the  
 “ particulars of each parcel, are sent by  
 “ the officers of the customs at London,  
 “ to the Custom-house at Gravesend, and  
 “ there lodged to be called for by the cap-  
 “ tain or master of the ship on his passage  
 “ to sea. In this manner the goods ship-  
 “ ped in the Peggy Stewart, were received  
 “ on board: And this deponent further  
 “ saith, that he saw Thomas Charles Wil-  
 “ liams, to whom the tea is consigned,  
 “ and Amos Hayton, who shipped the  
 “ same, frequently in London, neither of  
 “ whom ever mentioned to him their in-  
 “ tention of shipping any: That he did

“ not know of any tea being on board,  
 “ until after he had received his cockets  
 “ at Gravesend, and that he would not  
 “ have received the same had he known  
 “ thereof.

“ RICH. JACKSON.”

Sworn before me, this } PHIL. THOS. LEE.  
 17th Oct. 17'4.

On Wednesday, the appearance, agreeable to expectation, was numerous ; and the delegated committee were attended by Messrs A. Stewart and Williams, who acknowledged the impropriety of their proceeding ; and signed the humiliating paper, of which the following is a copy.

“ We, James Williams, Joseph Williams, and Anthony Stewart, do severally acknowledge, that we have committed a most daring insult, and act of the most pernicious tendency to the  
 “ liberties

“ liberties of America ; we, the said Wil-  
“ liams’s, *in importing the tea*, and said  
“ Stewart, *in paying the duty thereon* ; and  
“ thereby deservedly incurred the displea-  
“ sure of the people now convened, and  
“ all others interested in the preservation  
“ of the constitutional rights and liberties  
“ of North America, do ask pardon for  
“ the same ; and we solemnly declare, for  
“ the future, that we never will infringe  
“ any resolution formed by the people, for  
“ the salvation of their rights ; nor will  
“ we do any act that may be injurious to  
“ the liberties of the people : and to shew  
“ our desire of living in amity with the  
“ friends of America, we request this  
“ meeting, or as many as may choose to  
“ attend, to be present at any place where  
“ the people shall appoint, and we will  
“ there commit to the flames, or other-  
“ wise destroy, as the people may choose,

“ the detestable article, which has been  
“ the cause of this our misconduct.

“ ANTHONY STEWART,

“ JOSEPH WILLIAMS,

“ JAMES WILLIAMS.”

Mr. S——, on account of what was deemed a cheerful and ready compliance with an unconstitutional act of the British legislature, was particularly obnoxious : and though he publicly read his recantation, expressed in the most submissive and penitential terms, there were frantic zealots among the multitude, who warmly proposed the American discipline of tarring and feathering. Others, with a less vindictive spirit, were clamorous for the destruction of the brig, which had imported the hateful commodity : whilst many others, who indeed were the more numerous party, candidly declared, “ that the paper signed by the offenders, with their unextorted consent

sent to burn the tea, was a sufficient punishment, and satisfaction." But to determine this point with certainty, it was proposed and assented to, that a division should take place on the following question: "Whether the vessel should, or should not be destroyed?" when it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority; the citizens, in general, appearing averse to violent measures. But as the minority were chiefly persons who resided at a distance from Annapolis; as some of them had great influence in their neighbourhood; and intimated a determined resolution to proceed to the utmost extremities, the instant they could collect sufficient numbers to support them, Mr. Stewart was induced, from an anxious desire to preserve the public tranquillity, as well as to ensure his own personal safety, to propose setting fire himself to the vessel; which being immediately assented to, he instantly repaired on

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board,

board, accompanied by several gentlemen who thought it necessary to attend him, and having directed her to be run on ground, near the wind-mill point, he made a sacrifice of his valuable property to intemperate zeal and clamour ; and in a few hours the brig, with her sails, cordage, and every appurtenance, was effectually burnt.

By comparing the foregoing account with the circumstances stated in the Maryland Gazette, a manifest difference appears. Every step that Messrs. Stewart and Williams took in this transaction, to the prejudice of their property, seems, in that publication, to proceed from a voluntary election, unawed and unintimidated by the multitude : but I need not comment on the absurdity of such an opinion. The truth is, they destroyed property of great value, to prevent worse consequences.

*Anna-*

*Annapolis, Nov. 2d.*

The Congress have concluded their deliberations. I have seen their resolves; the association; the petition to his majesty; and the addresses to Great Britain, to Canada, and to the confederating American colonies.

The petition to the king is not to be published on this side the water, until advice is received of its delivery at St. James's. It was sent home from Philadelphia, by a ship, which by this time, is, probably, far on its way. God knows what influence these papers may have in England. If they are supported by truth, may they produce effects to the mutual advantage of all parties! The petition is held to be a masterly performance; firm, explicit, and respectful: the Address to Great Britain is thought to be pathetic and persuasive; that to Canada, to be founded

on

*Anna-*



on sentiments of liberty and reason ; and that to the uniting provinces, to be instructive and moderating. I have perused them with impartial attention, but am not competent to determine on their respective merits. It is evident the colonists are unanimous, and will steadily support the proceedings of their delegates. Our printer is closely engaged at the press : the whole will make a tolerable pamphlet ; and should the publication take place before this packet is dispatched, I shall forward it by the same conveyance.

I do not imagine the present situation of affairs will materially affect you ; at least for some time : but I and mine are already too sensible of the evils attending the contest. My income is now considerably reduced ; trade is already at a stand ; and on the 1st of December, a general

neral non-importation takes place. Commodities of every kind are, at this early period, become scarce and dear. Neither money, or bills can be found; and few people are sufficiently provided to answer the purposes of their necessary expenditure. Amidst every suffering, the reflection that thousands of industrious manufacturers at home, must take their proportion of the impending calamity, gives infinite disquietude to every honest and feeling mind.

The West Indies, will likewise severely suffer; for without any share in political proceedings, they are doomed to a heavy punishment.

*Annapolis, Nov. 8th.*

The Governor is returned to a land of trouble. He arrived about ten this morning in perfect health. He is now commenced an actor on a busy theatre; his part  
a truly

a truly critical one. To stem the popular torrent, and to conduct his measures with consistency, will require the exertion of all his faculties. The present times demand superior talents; and his, I am persuaded, will be invariably directed to promote the general good. Hitherto his conduct has secured to him a well-merited popularity; and his return to the province has been expected with an impatience which sufficiently evinces the sentiments of the public in his favour. May he be enabled to discharge his duties to the parent state, and to the country over which he presides, with unblemished credit, and uninterrupted tranquillity! Enclosed, you have the proceedings of Congress, with an inflammatory pamphlet published at Boston. Whether the doctrine it contains, corresponds with its title, COMMON SENSE, I shall leave you to determine.

L E T T E R

## L E T T E R XIX.

*Annapolis, March 13th, 1775.*

**T**HERE is but too much reason to apprehend that the hour is approaching when even the intercourse of letters will be greatly interrupted, if not totally prohibited.

From one extremity of this continent to the other, every appearance indicates approaching hostilities. The busy voice of preparation echoes through every settlement; and those who are not zealously infected with the general frenzy, are considered as enemies to the cause of liberty; and, without regard to any peculiarity of situation, are branded with opprobrious appellations, and pointed out as victims to public resentment.

Very

T E R

Very considerable subscriptions have been made in every quarter, for the relief of the Bostonians : large sums have likewise been collected for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and persons of all denominations are required to associate under military regulations, on pain of the severest censure ; every measure, while tending to the most fatal consequences, is eagerly and wildly pursued.

Admitting the evils complained of to be founded on reality, the mode adopted to obtain redress cannot, in my opinion, be justified on principles of reason or sound policy. I have, therefore, refused to join in any of the proposed contributions ; to appear in any of their associations ; or to enrol in any military corps. I have even attempted to moderate the enthusiasm of intemperate zeal, by the following appeal to Common Sense and Common Equity ; which, through the medium of the Maryland

land Gazette, has been submitted to public inspection; and if favourable conclusions may be drawn from appearances, it has been received with considerable approbation, my letter having already been reprinted in almost every paper throughout this continent.

“ TO THE PRINTERS.

“ The present unhappy contention between the *mother country* and her *colonies*, is a matter of the deepest concern to every honest, every feeling mind: it is, therefore, the indispensable duty of every friend to society, to study and to pursue those methods, which may lead to a perfect reconciliation, and the establishment of a permanent union between *Great Britain* and *America*.

“ The principle of *parliamentary taxation* over this extensive part of the empire, is  
gene-

generally denied by all ranks, and denominations of men; the grand subject of controversy, therefore, that prevails at present, respects *the most eligible method to obtain redress*. On this point, there appears a division of sentiment, which has given rise to *heart-burnings and discontent*; and, in some degree, struck at the root of that harmony which, at this important period, ought to *guide and influence* every action.

“ In opposition to measures dictated by *calmness and moderation*, (a steady adherence to which, it was generally supposed, would be attended with the most happy effects) *a military appearance* is assumed—*subscriptions* are industriously making for the purchase of *arms, ammunition, &c.* and the *severest censure* is indiscriminately passed on those persons who happen to dissent from the popular opinion, and prefer more conciliating methods of accommodation.

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“It is certain that there are many in *this*, and other *provinces*, who object to the spirit of violence, which seems at this time too predominant. Convinced of the propriety of their sentiments, and the integrity of their hearts, they conceive the cause of America may be *totally injured* by a precipitate, and unnecessary defiance of the power of Great Britain: they firmly believe, that a respectful behaviour to their *sovereign* and their *mother country*—a dutiful and constitutional application to the *throne*—and a firm perseverance in *virtuous*, though *peace principles*, will, in the issue, be productive of the most felicitous consequences. Actuated by such considerations, they cannot be reconciled to those violent extremes which have been too rashly adopted by many; and which they are anxious to establish, as the *only* feasible plan of terminating the present dissensions.

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“ On

“ It



“ On deliberate reflection, it can hardly be imagined, that the mother country has formed the least intention of reducing these provinces to a state of abject servility, by the force of arms; the *natural connexion*—the *close ties*—and *nice dependencies*, which exist between the different parts of the empire, forbid indulging any conclusions of so melancholy a nature. She will be more just—more tender to her offspring—the voice of reason will prevail—our grievances will be redressed—and she will be found, *to the end of time*, a kind—a fostering parent!—But admitting that Great Britain were determined to enforce a submission to all her mandates; even in that case, we have little cause to apprehend, that she will *unsheath the sword*, and establish her decrees in *the blood of thousands*. A more safe and certain method is obvious: a small proportion of *her naval power* would entirely shut up our harbours—suspend our

trade—impoverish the inhabitants—promote intestine divisions—and involve us in all the horrors of anarchy and confusion. To avoid evils, *even great as these*, we are not meanly to bend the neck, and submit to every innovation. But when there is no prospect of such dreadful calamities, why are we to form ideas of *battles* and of *slaughter*? Why are our coasts to resound with *hostile preparations*?—the demon of *discord* to stalk at large—and *friends* and *kindred* forget the peaceful bonds of *amity* and *love*?

“ It has been objected by the advocates for moderation, that the methods pursued to complete the subscription for arms, &c. has more the complexion of *an arbitrary tax*, than *a voluntary contribution*. On the other hand, it has been asserted, “ that money raised in a manner, where there is no obligation to pay but a sense of duty ;

and no other mode to induce compliance, but shame and infamy, cannot be deemed *a tax*. A sense of duty is, undoubtedly, the most noble incentive to *worthy actions*; but a false dread of *shame* and *infamy*, has perverted many an *honest heart*, and too frequently proved an irresistible temptation to *dishonourable practices*. Let us a moment reflect:—Can there be an imposition more arbitrary and severe, than a necessity of assenting to any particular measure, or forfeiting *that fair*—that *unfulfilled reputation*, which alleviates the cares of life, and smooths the inevitable rugged path to the dreary mansions of the grave!

“ Good name in man and woman  
“ Is the immediate jewel of their souls.  
“ Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something,  
“ nothing;  
“ 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;  
“ But he that filches from me my good name,  
“ Robs me of that which not enriches him,  
“ And makes me poor indeed.”——

If

“ If I differ in opinion from the multitude, must I therefore be deprived of my character, and the confidence of my fellow-citizens, when in every station of life I discharge my duty with fidelity and honour? DEATH—the certain tax on all the sons of men, were preferable to so abject a state.—No—’twere better to suffer all that “ age, ach, penury, imprisonment, can lay on nature,” than resign that glorious inheritance of a free subject—the liberty of *thinking—speaking—and acting*, agreeable to the dictates of conscience! I frankly acknowledge no man has a right to disturb the peace of the community, by broaching tenets destructive to the *true interests and welfare* of his country; but at the same time, it cannot be justifiable to compel others to adopt *every system* which we esteem conducive to the public good. Let us therefore be unanimous in *virtue—in frugality—and in industry*; let us con-

duct ourselves on the christian principle of "doing to others as we would have done to us;" let us not, in the frantic moments of intemperate zeal, mistake *libertinism* for *liberty*, and commit outrages, which we shall recollect with *shame*, and condemn with *heart-felt anxiety*. While we contend for the inestimable blessings of British subjects, let us not assume a *tyrannical authority* over each other. In a word, let *reason* and *moderation* hold the scale in every important determination—so shall every *real grievance* be effectually redressed—every man shall sing the song of gladness under his own *vine*, and we shall at once be free—be loyal—and be happy!

I am, Sir,

Most sincerely,

Annapolis,  
Feb. 14, 1775.

*A Friend to Amity."*

On

On perusing the above humble effort of my pen, it will readily occur to you, that if I had, in the most distant manner, admitted the right of parliamentary taxation, my address, in times like these, could not possibly have been productive of any salutary consequences. The denial of that right being the prevailing creed of the colonies, I found myself necessitated to coincide with the popular opinion, that I might strike, with the greater efficacy, at that vindictive, arbitrary system, which under the fallacious pretence of supporting the interests of constitutional freedom, exerts a tyrannical authority, in order to enforce hostile opposition in preference to moderate and respectful applications.

How far the legislative authority of Great Britain legally extends over the American Provinces, is beyond the extent of my limited abilities to determine. In

the confidence of conversation, I daily hear various opinions, supported by strength of argument and accuracy of observation, and from what I have heard, and am enabled to judge, I am clearly convinced that much more is apprehended than has any existence in reality. But in all countries there are busy, turbulent spirits, who from motives of ambition, avarice, or discontent, "infect the general ear with horrid speech:" by eagerly pressing forwards, as champions in the public cause, they agitate the passions of the misguided multitude, and imperceptibly lead them to the most dreadful extremities.

It is with pleasure I am able to assert, that a greater degree of moderation appears to predominate in this province, than in any other on the continent; and I am perfectly assured we are very materially indebted for this peculiar advantage to the  
collected

collected and consistent conduct of our Governor, whose views appear solely directed to advance the interests of the community ; and to preserve, by every possible method, the public tranquillity. How long we may continue thus distinguished, time alone must determine. Should our demagogues obtain the ascendancy, after which they labour, we shall assuredly equal any of our neighbours in those violences of which we now only contemplate the commencement.

While the power of communicating my sentiments, *with safety*, is happily continued, I shall not fail to give you due information of every material circumstance.

LETTER



## L E T T E R XX.

*Annapolis, Wednesday Even. April 26, 1775.*

ABOUT noon this day, arrived an express from Boston, which brought an account, "that on the 19th instant a detachment of the king's troops, consisting of about a thousand men, being ordered on some secret duty, at a place called Lexington, fell in with a company of provincials, whom they attacked without any provocation, killed six, and wounded four: that on an alarm being given, the regulars were, in consequence, assaulted by a numerous body of the militia, who had surrounded them; and it was supposed the conflict would be desperate and bloody."

An additional paragraph says, "that General Gage had sent a reinforcement,  
with

with some artillery, to sustain the troops ; but that measures were taken to prevent their junction : that when the express was dispatched, about one hundred and fifty soldiers were killed, and about fifty New Englandmen ; and that the engagement continued with determined resolution."

With the most dreadful anxiety are we now waiting for further, and more circumstantial intelligence.

The last advices from London intimate, that both Houses of Parliament have addressed his Majesty, requesting him to enforce the acts ; and that it has been determined, in consequence, to increase the army already in America.

I take it for granted, this intelligence has brought on the commencement of hostilities ; the violent party having conceived the practicability of reducing General Gage,

Gage, before he is rendered more formidable by the fresh supplies. Should the event be answerable to their expectation, the measure will be applauded by very many of the rash and inconsiderate. If they fail, the disappointment may, probably, give encouragement to the cool and moderate throughout the different provinces, to exert their influence and their abilities, in order to prevent the continent, in general, from participating in the miseries of war !

The Provincial Convention are now sitting in Annapolis, but strangers are not permitted to attend their debates. They have already dispatched an express to the southward, in consequence of the information from Boston.

The plan proposed for a reconciliation, by Lord North, is generally approved by the moderate and dispassionate, as the foundation of a permanent tranquility.



quility \*. These men have ever been of opinion, that the plantations ought to contribute more liberally than they at present do, in return for the advantages of commerce, and for the protection afforded by Great Britain. But how far his lordship's conciliatory scheme may operate,

\* On the motives and conduct of the American war there are various opinions, but only *one* exists with respect to the zeal evinced by the above nobleman, in behalf of those who had freely sacrificed their all to their loyalty, and to the British constitution.

The writer of these letters would be greatly wanting in gratitude, were he not happy in this opportunity, of acknowledging his particular obligations to the Earl of Guilford. At the time of his arrival in England, his Lordship was at the head of the Treasury, to whom he stated those circumstances which had compelled him to abandon his very eligible situations in the province of Maryland. The facts being properly authenticated, his Lordship was pleased, without the *most distant* interference of private interest, and with a dispatch beyond the author's most sanguine expectations, to allot him a temporary provision, which enabled him to support, with comfort, that reverse of fortune, which had rendered him dependent on the justice and humanity of his country.

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now when actual hostilities are commenced, heaven alone can determine.

*Thursday, April 27.*

Last night advice was received from Virginia, that the powder and stores in the magazine at Williamsburg, were taken from thence by some marines belonging to one of his Majesty's vessels on that station, by order of his Excellency Lord Dunmore.

This intelligence has given an additional alarm to our patriotic party; and accordingly some gentlemen were deputed by the convention to wait on the governor; soliciting him to give directions, that the arms, powder, and stores, belonging to the province, should be delivered into their possession; apprehensions being entertained, "That some ship of war may arrive in the harbour of Annapolis, whose  
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commander might probably have instructions to seize the same."

The deputation was received with respect, and the governor promised to consult his council with all possible dispatch. This answer has given satisfaction for the present; and the militia, who were assembled to enforce submission, are departed quietly to their habitations.

*April 28.*

To prevent riot and confusion, the governor and council have thought it advisable to comply with the requisition of the convention, on condition that the colonels of the militia, in the respective counties under the ancient establishment, solicit for the delivery of the arms, powder and stores, pointing out the necessity of the measure. By this mode of proceeding, the dignity of government is maintained,

tained, and the public tranquillity preserved. In these turbulent times, something must be yielded to the clamour of an infatuated multitude.

The inhabitants of New York have hitherto discovered sentiments favourable to government : but if the sword is unsheathed, it is apprehended they will almost unanimously fall into the ranks of opposition. A report is circulated, that fourteen regiments are ordered to that city, who are to prevent all communication between the southern and eastern provinces. In consequence of this rumour, their committee of observation have transmitted dispatches to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and other places, desiring immediate assistance should such an event take place. How *our* patriots will act in this business I know not : for my part I suspect there are people who industriously circulate reports, and magnify the most trivial

trivial circumstances, with a view to inflame the minds of the multitude. Men of this complexion, are best gratified when by fomenting divisions, and exciting apprehensions, they are enabled to take the lead in the subversion of all order, and by obtaining an iniquitous pre-eminence,

Ride in the tempest, and direct the storm."

*Wednesday, May 3.*

We are incessantly alarmed with varied accounts from the northward, full of inconsistency and contradiction; but upon the whole there is the greatest reason to conclude, that the action between the regulars and provincials, has not been attended with consequences so fatal as has been industriously represented. We are, however, still in the dark with respect to authentic particulars.

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The governor last night received a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth, with a resolution of the House of Commons, relative to a conciliatory plan. I pray God it may be attended with efficacy, though I fear the unhappy event at Lexington will retard the accomplishment of peace.

I am heartily disgusted with the times. The universal cry is *Liberty!* to support which, an infinite number of petty tyrannies are established, under the appellation of committees; in every one of which a few despots lord it over the calm and moderate; inflame the passions of the mob, and pronounce those to be enemies to the general good, who may presume any way to dissent from the creed they have thought proper to impose.

Our provincial convention rose this day; and, considering the complexion of the times, their proceedings have been regular

and moderate. The eleventh instant is to be observed as a fast throughout this province : the mustering is to be continued ; and a sum is to be raised in each county, for the support of the delegates in Philadelphia.

From the public prints it is difficult to form a clear idea of the prevailing opinion at home, respecting the present unhappy and unnatural contention. If determined measures are pursued, under officers of approved trust and ability, it can hardly be imagined that the colonies will be equal to a long and serious opposition ; but whether a reduction of them by force would be attended with the desired consequences, is a question that ought to be considered in preference to every other object. It will surely be adviseable on the part of the British commanders, to act only on defensive principles, until every lenient method has

been adopted to restore harmony and mutual confidence on a constitutional foundation. It is evident there are too many individuals, in every province, who, from interested or ambitious motives, embrace all opportunities to foment the seeds of division, by inflammatory addresses to the passions of the multitude, by repeated misrepresentations, and by artfully delineating the miseries of that arbitrary system which they assert, will be the inevitable consequence of submission to ministerial mandates. Yet there are, also, throughout this continent, many respectable characters, whose real importance and established reputation, give them such due weight and influence, that I cannot but indulge the pleasing idea they will, by the steadiness and consistency of their conduct, be able to stem the torrent excited by factious artifices, and to forward measures that may be essential to the interests  
and

and happiness of the united British Empire.

Supported by this hope, those who are sincerely attached to the prosperity and welfare of the general community, direct their best attention to the parent state. Under the evils that now oppress them, they derive some consolation from a firm persuasion, that the olive-branch will speedily be extended, and that such wise and judicious dispositions will be made for future legislation in the colonies ; that many inestimable advantages will arise from past and present calamities.

*May 13.*

At length we have received General Gage's account of the late action, which is materially different from those transmitted by the respective committees ; and, I

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think,

think, may be more certainly relied on, being written ten days after the engagement, when the particulars relative to the whole transaction were properly and minutely collected. The charge of cruelty and precipitation is now retorted on the provincials. But the patriots yield no credit to this relation; though they affect to believe implicitly every report propagated to the disadvantage of the British forces.

The Members of the Congress are now assembled in Philadelphia. I need not say with what anxiety we attend the event of their deliberations. The governor continues to stand fair with the people of this province; our public prints declare him to be the only person, in his station, who, in these tumultuous times, has given administration a fair and impartial representation of important occurrences; and I can  
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assert with the strictest regard to truth, that he conducts himself, in his arduous department, with an invariable attention to the interests of his royal master, and the essential welfare of the province over which he has the honour to preside.

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## L E T T E R XXI.

*Annapolis, July 25, 1775.*

**M**R. D—— will do me the favour to deliver this letter. He is going to pass some time on the continent of Europe, where he hopes to find that tranquillity which is not, at present, to be obtained in this unhappy country. I shall leave him to represent, minutely, the calamitous situation of the colonies. Government is now almost totally annihilated, and power

transferred to the multitude. Speech is become dangerous ; letters are intercepted ; confidence betrayed ; and every measure evidently tends to the most fatal extremities : the sword is drawn, and, without some providential change of measures, the blood of thousands will be shed in this unnatural contest.

Before this letter is received, you will have heard of the action at *Bunker's Hill*. The provincials were forced from their intrenchments ; but it is said the regulars suffered so severely, that they cannot afford to obtain future advantages at so dear a price.

The inhabitants of this province are incorporated under military regulations ; and apply the greater part of their time to the different branches of discipline. In Annapolis there are two complete companies ; in Baltimore seven ; and in every district of this province the majority of the people  
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are actually under arms : almost every hat is decorated with a cockade ; and the churchish drum and fife are the only music of the times.

I have not yet, in positive terms, been required to muster ; and, I trust, my peculiar circumstances will be considered as a reasonable plea of exemption. I wish well to America.—It is my duty—my inclination so to do—but I cannot—I will not—consent to act in direct opposition to my oath of allegiance, and my deliberate opinion. Rather than submit to a conduct so base, so inconsistent with my principles, I will give up all—embrace ruin !—and trust to the protecting care of Providence for the future disposition of me and mine.

On Tuesday the 18th instant, a number of armed persons set fire to a ship which had accidentally run on ground a few miles below this city. She was the property of Mr.



Mr. Gildart of Liverpool, and had brought in some goods contrary to the association. This is the second burnt-offering to liberty within this province: at the same time, it is but justice to confess, that these instances of popular fury are heartily condemned by very many, even of the patriotic party.

Mr, James C——, a respectable merchant of Baltimore, lately addressed a letter to a near relation, Lieutenant-Colonel C—— of the 60th regiment, stationed in the island of Antigua, in which he strongly expressed his disapprobation of the prevailing system. This letter has been intercepted and laid before the committee of Baltimore county; and on its being made public, his house was surrounded by a disorderly rabble, and had not a detachment of the militia interfered, Mr. C—— would probably have fallen a sacrifice. This gentleman is now a close prisoner, under  
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the custody of a guard, and his case is to be laid before the provincial convention, who meet to-morrow, in this city, for the purpose of establishing new regulations.

The proclamation issued by General Gage is very little regarded. Hancock and Adams are therein excepted from mercy!—The Congress have adjourned until September.

My friend M—— arrived on the 18th, and delivered your circumstantial epistle. How we are to correspond hereafter I know not. On the tenth of September next the non-exportation association takes place; and all commercial intercourse will consequently cease, until these unhappy differences are by some means decided. It seems but yesterday that I considered my situation as permanent.—Every flattering prospect appeared before me.—Happy in my family, in my connexions, in my circumstances,

cumstances, cherished and supported by a patron, able and anxious to promote my interest. Alas! my brethren, how cruelly is the scene reversed! I am suddenly involved in a train of difficulties and dangers, against which no human prudence or foresight could possibly guard. How strangely complicated have been the events of my life, on which, apparently, my own conduct has had so little influence. Under all circumstances believe me ever yours.

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## L E T T E R XXII.

*Annapolis, Aug. 24, 1775.*

ON the fourteenth instant, the Convention concluded their deliberations. If their proceedings are published before I have an opportunity to transmit  
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this, I will enclose them for your information. You will then be enabled to form an opinion of the disposition of this province.

When you have perused the association of the freemen of Maryland, you will, I presume, acknowledge the propriety of my objecting to subscribe to it, and acknowledge that such conduct would be inconsistent with my principles, and the station under government, in which I am situated. I verily believed some regard would have been paid to the particular circumstances of revenue officers, but our present rulers entertain different sentiments, and all persons, without exception, must associate and enrol; the Governor, and his household, *only* excepted.

His Excellency, ever attentive to my interest, has generously made me an offer to become one of his family, immediately after the embarkation of Mrs. E——, who is  
now

now anxiously preparing for her approaching voyage. We had firmly determined, that no circumstances, however adverse to our hopes, should induce us again to consent, even to a temporary separation ; but the cruel necessity of our once more submitting to it, has of late appeared too evident. She is perfectly convinced, that I must speedily avow my political sentiments, in the most explicit manner ; and that my refusal to join in the popular measures, will subject me to inconveniences which may better be supported, when my family is removed to some secure asylum. Influenced by such forcible considerations, she has acknowledged the expediency of what is so distressing to our domestic happiness ! and early in the ensuing month, we must bid farewell !—a painful farewell to each other !

The Governor's humane and generous offer impresses my mind with the most  
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lively gratitude : yet am I greatly embarrassed how to conduct myself on the occasion. Considering the wild, unsettled times, he is uncommonly popular ; but how long he may continue so is a matter of great uncertainty. It is highly probable he may speedily think it necessary to express his decided approbation of the present proceedings, which step, I am fearful, would effectually cancel his past merits ; subject him to calumny and censure ; and render his longer continuance in Maryland impossible. Should the event prove these conjectures to be well-founded, I cannot possibly expect protection from the friendly attention of my worthy patron ; on the contrary, I must either bid adieu to America, and every pleasing prospect, or meanly comply with the requisitions of the Convention, in direct opposition to the sentiments of my heart. Let me weigh both evils, with a settled determination to make that election which

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will hereafter be attended with the most salutary effects, and the most pleasing reflections.

If I abandon this country, in consequence of a steady adherence to my principles and my duty, I must unavoidably be subjected to a precarious life of uncertainty and dependence; and instead of enjoying a comfortable asylum in my native land, I may only experience a variety of misfortunes and disappointments, and drink yet deeper draughts of the cup of affliction. I am, however, perfectly assured, if I preserve my integrity unblemished, though I should thereby be subjected to

“ ————— the spurns

“ That patient merit of the unworthy takes,”

yet, hereafter, I shall receive an adequate reward.

On the other hand, should I act in opposition to the dictates of my mind, by subscribing to the association, and taking arms,

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I shall not only be subject to those painful feelings which accompany a consciousness of doing wrong, but be justly despised by every brave and honest man; detested and avoided by every respectable society; and, when tranquillity is happily restored, deservedly cast out, to encounter a complication of miseries, without one cheering thought to support such a reverse of fortune.

I have now fairly stated my situation; and believe, from your knowledge of my principles, you will readily determine how I shall regulate my conduct; and whenever I am unhappily necessitated to quit this country, where I have experienced great blessings, this pleasing reflection will accompany me, that I have left behind me a fair and unblemished reputation.

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A new emission of paper currency, to the amount of sixty thousand pounds sterling, is now preparing under the inspection of gentlemen, appointed by authority of the Convention, which is hereafter to be sunk by a tax on the inhabitants of this province; besides which, they are to be assessed their proportion to sink the Congress money, amounting to six hundred and seventy five thousand pounds, lately emitted at Philadelphia, for the payment of the provincial army. How these enormous expences are to be supported, and how the people are to be maintained, after a total stagnation of commerce, is not easy to conceive. If ways and means are not speedily devised to feed the hungry, and cloath the naked, we must assuredly experience all the horrors of the most extreme indigence.

Numbers of my valued friends are now  
preparing to bid farewell to a country,  
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where they cannot possibly remain with any degree of safety, unless they take an active part in opposition to the measures of government: to be neuter is to be adverse. What a variety of circumstances combine to make me wretched! It is but too probable that *I* also shall soon abandon this continent, either by sentence of banishment, or by voluntary retreat. I cannot be excelled by any in good wishes to America, and I heartily pray that every real evil under which she labours, may be speedily and effectually redressed: but the present measures will never meet my concurrence: I cannot subscribe to a compact, which I believe to be incompatible with my oath of allegiance; nor can I think it consistent with that liberty, which is the universal cry, to compel any man to act in direct opposition to his well-grounded principles.

I have written you a gloomy letter, which a word or two more shall conclude. In a

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former

former epistle, I mentioned Mr. James C——, and the danger to which he was subjected in consequence of having imparted his opinions too explicitly in confidential correspondence. That gentleman has been examined by the Convention, and there are vindictive spirits who think the sentence he has received, by no means adequate to the *supposed* enormity of his offence. He has been pronounced “an enemy to America; condemned to perpetual banishment; and obliged to deposit the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, in the hands of persons appointed by the Convention, to be expended occasionally towards his proportion of all charges incurred, or to be incurred, for the defence of America, during the present contest with Great Britain; the overplus, if any, after a reconciliation shall happily be effected, to be restored to the said James C——.”

From

From this you will learn how hazardous it is become to support a free intercourse. The Convention have thus assumed the powers of all the different branches of government; but with what propriety, it becomes not me to determine. That the blessings of peace may speedily be restored, is the fervent wish of your faithful, &c.

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L E T T E R XXIII.

*Annapolis, Sep. 26th, 1775.*

I AM seated, my dearest wife, to transmit a detail of material occurrences, since our unhappy separation on the sixteenth instant.

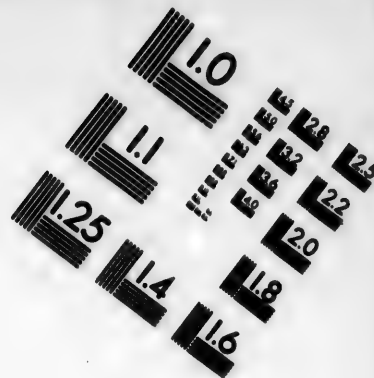
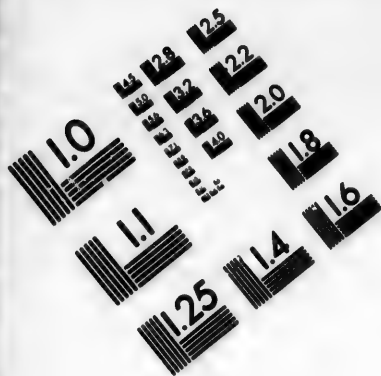
It is impossible to delineate the anguish I experienced when I quitted the vessel

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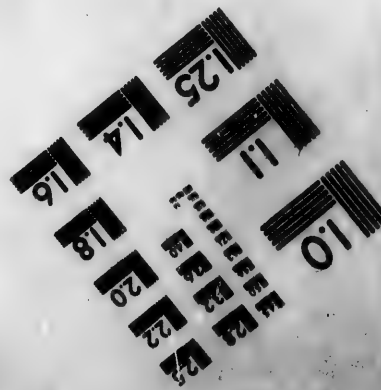
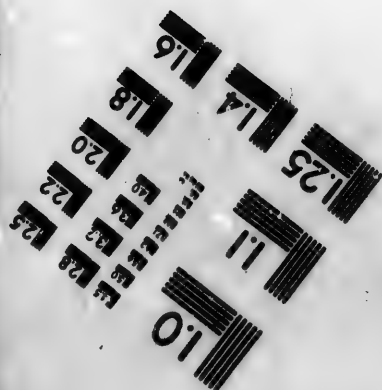
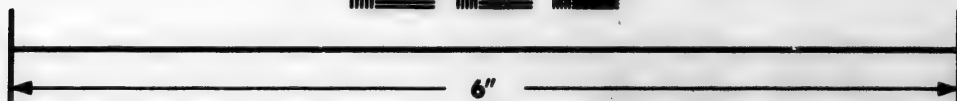
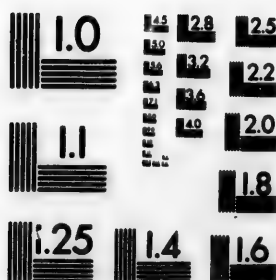
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which was to convey you, and our darling boy to a land of safety. Anxious to retain you as long as possible in my possession, I had proceeded with you further down the Bay than prudence warranted, and the night was far advanced before I regained the mansion of the hospitable Colonel. I then retired to the apartment you had so recently quitted, and gave a loose to all the complicated emotions which "harrowed up my soul."

On the nineteenth, the wind being favourable, I took leave of the worthy family at Rousley-hall, and embarked for Annapolis. In my way down the river I visited a vessel which had anchored near the mouth on the preceding evening, and found on board several of our valued acquaintance, who had abandoned their dearest connexions, rather than assent to measures they could not conscientiously support.

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Immediately on landing, I repaired to my new abode at the Governor's, who received me with that friendly attention which so remarkably distinguishes his conduct on every occasion. I found him in company with a few select loyal friends: political occurrences engrossed our conversation, in which hope appeared to operate but weakly, with respect to the eventful transactions of the times. At an early hour we separated: my apartment was ready for my reception; and after invoking Heaven on behalf of my wife and son, I rested with tolerable composure.

Mr. L——, who had actually embarked for England, with full permission from the ruling powers, has been obliged to relinquish his intention, and return on shore, some clamours having been excited by the populace to his prejudice; and it being thought necessary he should remain

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to

to vindicate his conduct. Many of our friends have found it expedient to take a French leave. I trust you will speedily meet them in perfect safety.

On the twentieth, I visited our once happy mansion. This was an additional trial of resignation and fortitude; every surrounding object too forcibly reminding me of past felicity. Your servants shewed the strongest sensibility; and their earnest and pathetic inquiries relative to their dear mistress and our beloved boy, proved the fervency and sincerity of their attachment. In a few days they remove to their respective situations. What a dreadful reverse have I already experienced!

*Septem. 26th, P. M.*

About an hour since, the governor was exceedingly surprised by the receipt of a letter from Mr. L—, D—, dated from Philadelphia. The contents intimate, that  
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on the tenth and eleventh instant they encountered a most violent storm, about sixty leagues to the eastward of Virginia, during which the Annapolis lost all her masts; and that they continued three days in that dangerous situation, before they were able to fix jury masts, under which they made sail for the coast of America. On Tuesday, the nineteenth, they had the good fortune to fall in with a vessel bound to Philadelphia, which received the passengers, and conveyed them to that city. Captain H—— intends to go into the first port he can make, in order to repair his damages, which are considerable. I need not observe, that we wait for intelligence of his arrival with great anxiety.

We once considered the circumstances which prevented your sailing in that ship, as a very severe disappointment; but in consequence of that seeming evil, what incon-

inconveniences, what terrors, have you not happily avoided ! what increased expence ! which in our present situation we are little able to support.

*Wednesday evening, Sep. 27.*

This morning early we were alarmed by the beating of drums, and a proclamation for the inhabitants to assemble at the Liberty Tree. The purport of this meeting was to obtain a resolve, " That all persons who had refused to sign the association, and comply with the other requisitions, should be obliged to quit the city, as enemies to the essential interests of America." I have, however, the pleasure to inform you, that this violent project was defeated with little difficulty : every judicious and reasonable person seeing through the pernicious tendency of such a design ; and the promoters, who were amongst the lowest of the people, not being supported  
or

or encouraged. It is needless to mention, that this proceeding was directly opposite to the resolves of the Convention ; it having been determined by that body, that *they only* were competent to take cognizance of offences, and to ascertain the punishment.

I am, however, clearly of opinion, that all power will quickly be transferred into the hands of the multitude, who once taking the lead, will not easily be reduced again to proper submission. In some counties they have had warm contests in electing their delegates for the ensuing convention, and in appointing members of the respective committees. In Talbot, the poll lasted several days ; party prejudices were highly predominant, and much ill blood produced.

Mr. R——, the Attorney General of Virginia, with his lady and daughters, are on their passage to England. His son is of the adverse party, and is appointed an aid-du-camp

du-camp to General Washington; with whom, beneath the hospitable roof of our worthy governor, I have so frequently shared the hour of social and sentimental discourse. Little did I then conceive, that he was destined to be called forth, by the united voice of America, from the private occupations of domestic tranquillity, to direct hostile operations against the measures of the British government. Reserved in conversation, but liberal in opinion, his actions have, hitherto, been directed by calmness and moderation; a perseverance in which conduct may restrain misguided ardor, and direct every movement to that grand point; a permanent and constitutional reconciliation.

The exaltation of this gentleman to the supreme command, is considered as a severe stroke to the ambition of General Lee; who, relying on a supposed opinion  
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of his superior abilities and experience, expected to have been unanimously chosen to this elevated station. I am persuaded, that General Washington would rejoice in an opportunity of returning into the private walks of life: but it is too evident that General Lee is governed by a vindictive spirit, the result of disappointment in military advancement, while in the service of Great Britain. Perhaps this additional mortification may moderate his zeal in the cause he has recently espoused.

The Council of Safety have given directions to several gentlemen in public departments, to hold themselves in readiness to remove their books and papers. Intimations of this nature have not yet extended to myself or colleague, but when the Convention meet, it is expected we shall be included in whatever regulations they may think necessary to establish.

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The report of a ship of war being ordered to this port, has occasioned many families to quit Annapolis ; and others talk of removing speedily. I have, however, the pleasure of informing you, that the generality of the inhabitants seem perfectly disposed to conduct themselves with moderation, should such ship arrive ; for at a respectable meeting of the citizens, on Monday last, it was unanimously agreed, “ If a vessel, belonging to his Majesty, “ should be stationed in our harbour, to “ supply the same with every necessary, “ at a reasonable price, and cautiously to “ avoid any cause of contention with the “ officers or the crew.” An address is also prepared to be delivered to the Governor, expressive of these laudable sentiments, and entreating that he will intimate the same to the commander of any ship that may be ordered on this duty.

I shall



I shall be truly impatient till I learn that you are safely arrived. May the wished-for intelligence be soon conveyed to your ever faithful, &c.

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## L E T T E R XXIV.

*Annapolis, Nov. 16, 1775.*

WHEN we parted, I intimated an intention of making an excursion to the northward ; but, on reflection, think it prudent, during these discordant times, to relinquish the design. The city of New York is deserted by almost every respectable family ; and Philadelphia only presents a view of military arrangements and general confusion. While the country is in such commotion, commerce and agriculture at a stand, and marks of distress, real or imaginary,

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ginary, imprinted on every countenance, it is absolutely impossible to receive any satisfaction from change of situation.

The king's proclamation, and the Manchester address, have appeared in the continental papers; but as I carefully avoid "the busy haunts of men," I am not sufficiently informed to determine on their general reception. From what I casually learn they do not tend to conciliate.

*Friday, Nov. 17.*

I have just received intelligence which gives me great disquietude. The September packet is arrived from England, but the letters are detained for inspection. The governor is much chagrined on the occasion.

Mrs. Washington, accompanied by her son Mr. Curtis, and his lady, passed through Baltimore this day on their way to the  
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camp at Cambridge, escorted by a detachment of horse, that made a very military appearance.

*Tuesday, Nov. 21.*

The governor this morning received his letters, but they have passed the ordeal of examination. Those you may write to me will assuredly share the same fate. It is a painful reflection, that private correspondence cannot escape being subjected to public investigation; but we must yield with resignation to the complexion of the times.

Annapolis is daily more and more deserted; some families have quitted us from apprehensions of a bombardment; others on account of the distressed times, bad markets, and a general scarcity of money; even tradesmen and mechanics have quitted their habitations, and are retired from

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the vicinity of navigable waters. Agriculture is neglected ; the voice of peaceful industry is heard no more ; and the military science is the universal study, so that I have, every hour, additional reason to felicitate myself on your absence from this wretched country.

*Monday, Nov. 27.*

A hand-bill is just arrived from the northward, which conveys information, that the metropolis of Canada has surrendered to Colonel Arnold, by the reduction of which an immense quantity of military stores has fallen into the possession of the captors. The account says fifteen thousand stand of arms, and two thousand five hundred barrels of gunpowder, with cannon, mortars, &c. Fifteen thousand suits of soldiers clothing are also said to be included in this valuable capture. General

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neral Carleton is at Montreal, but with what force is not ascertained; it is however imagined that place must inevitably fall, and the gallant commander submit to the provincial armament. War between different nations is an evil of great magnitude; but between people who acknowledge the same sovereign, who speak the same language, profess the same religion, and who are connected with each other by all the affecting ties of nature and of interest, it is indeed too horrible for imagination to conceive.

In consequence of the late success, our patriots talk in a strain of high exultation; and prognosticate events fatal to the political and commercial interests of the parent state.

As it is impossible during these unsettled times, to conjecture what fortune may befall me, I would have you be constantly pre-

pared for my arrival in London, as it may not be in my power to transmit you any information previous to my leaving this country. For if peace is not re-established during the course of the present winter, I can neither enjoy happiness, nor derive any advantage by remaining in America.

These wretched times indeed strike at the root of every home-felt enjoyment; every countenance is darkened with anxiety and suspicion; mutual confidence is annihilated; political prejudices erase the remembrance of former attachments, and friends and kindred forget the endearing bonds of amity and love.

*December 3.*

The account of Quebec being taken appears to be premature, but sanguine expectations are entertained that it must speedily submit. Montreal has surrendered to  
General

LET. XXIV.

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December 3.

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LET. XXV. FROM AMERICA. 245

General Montgomery. The terms of ca-  
pitulation will, probably, reach England  
long before this letter. These successes  
induce some people to look further than  
the original plan of opposition.

I charge you let not any solicitude on  
my account agitate your mind—let us not  
“shape the fashion of uncertain evils,”—  
but reflecting on the *past*, look forward  
confidently to the *future*.

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## L E T T E R XXV.

Annapolis, Jan. 1, 1776

**W**ERE I to yield to those corro-  
ding reflections, that naturally  
and irresistably impress the mind, under  
the peculiarly distressing circumstances of

R 3 this

this distracted empire, I should assuredly form the most calamitous ideas, respecting the events which may, too probably, take place before the commencement of a future year. Numbers of those, with whom I have been connected on terms of amity and friendship, are now the avowed and determined enemies of my much loved native country!—the reflection that they derived their being from the same original source, appears almost entirely obliterated, and they are rushing impetuously forward into all the complicated dangers and miseries of hostile opposition. Multitudes who, at this moment, are distinguished by the endearing appellations of husbands! fathers! sons! and brethren! will, assuredly, before the return of this day, exist only in the memory of those to whom they are now united by all the tender bonds of nature and attachment. From contemplating



plating the general wreck, the mind irresistibly adverts to private sufferings.

“ How richly were our noon-tide traces hung

“ With gorgeous tapestries of pictur'd joys;

“ Joy behind joy, in endless perspective.”

What an unexpected, unavoidable reverse have we experienced!—Our domestic felicity is sacrificed; our reasonable and well-founded hopes of uninterrupted prosperity are cruelly frustrated, and every future view is dreary and calamitous. But it is possible all may yet be well. Tranquillity may be effectually restored; we may be happily re-united, and enabled to enjoy the residue of our days under a constant sense of that gracious providence, which, through paths of danger, conducts to peace and safety, and erects permanent happiness on the foundation of sorrow and disappointment.

For some time I have indulged the idea that the November packet would convey the pleasing intelligence of your safe arrival in London ; and that you were enjoying as much satisfaction as the restoration of health, and the attention of kind friends could possibly afford. But, alas ! I am miserably disappointed ; by the painful information that, from October last, no more packets were to be dispatched regularly from England. It is, therefore, now become a doubt, whether I shall obtain information of your welfare, until it pleases heaven to restore you, and our dearest child, to my impatient arms.

Since your departure, what a strange alteration has taken place. Our harbours—our rivers are deserted. The chearful sound of industry is heard no more ; activity is only exerted in warlike preparations : every visage is clouded with apprehension ; and  
a con-

a continued succession of aggravated reports agitate the mind, and foment the general discontent. Were my duty, and my inclination reconcilable with each other, you would speedily behold me in England ; but every motive of principle and affection equally operates to deny the gratification of my fondest wishes. For while a possibility remains that a reconciliation may be constitutionally effected between Great Britain and her colonies, it is, undoubtedly, incumbent on the servants of government not to relinquish their respective situations. Such conduct would be justly reprehensible, as it might occasion infinite irregularity and confusion ; which by a decent and steady perseverance may be avoided. I am persuaded these reasons will have their due influence on your mind, and, in a great degree, prepare you to encounter those evils, which I would even yet hope are but temporary.

My

My dearest—my best—friend, farewell!  
Remember we must endure to conquer.

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## LETTER XXVI.

*Annapolis, Jan. 16, 1776.*

AFFAIRS in Virginia have borne, for some time, a very serious aspect. On the 25th of October last, Lord Dunmore cannonaded Hampton, a commercial town on the banks of the Chesapeake, but was repulsed with the loss of some men and a tender, which was taken by the militia. In consequence of this transaction, on the 7th of November, a proclamation was issued by his lordship, dated on board the ship William, lying off Norfolk, declaring, “ that as the civil law was “ insufficient, at that period, to prevent and

farewell!  
 conquer.

16, 1776.

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" punish treason, martial law should take  
 " place, and be executed throughout the  
 " colony; therefore requiring all persons  
 " capable of bearing arms, to repair to his  
 " majesty's standard, or to be considered  
 " as traytors. He also declared all in-  
 " dented servants, negroes, or others ap-  
 " pertaining to persons in opposition to  
 " government, who were able and willing  
 " to bear arms, and who joined his ma-  
 " jesty's forces, to be free."

This measure of emancipating the ne-  
 groes has excited an universal ferment, and  
 will, I apprehend, greatly strengthen the  
 general confederacy.

The proclamation, however, had some  
 immediate effect in the opulent town of  
 Norfolk, where many of the inhabitants  
 were well affected to government. The  
 governor was speedily joined by some hun-  
 dreds of all complexions, and he doubt-  
 less

less formed an idea, that the disposition to loyalty, which he discovered in that neighbourhood, would have been sufficiently general for enabling him to raise a force competent to re-establish, what he deemed a proper degree of subordination.

This delusive expectation was interrupted by information, that a party of provincials, under the command of Colonel Woodford, were on their march to oppose his measures. To obstruct their progress, and to support those who were well-affected, Lord Dunmore immediately took possession of a post called the Great Bridge, some miles distant from Norfolk, which is a pass of great consequence, and the only practicable way of approaching that town. Both parties fortified themselves within cannon shot of each other; and as a narrow causeway lay between them, which must necessarily be passed previous to an attack, they appeared

peared to be mutually secured from any danger of surprise.

Thus circumstanced, they continued inactive several days, till, at length, a design was formed of surprising the American troops in their intrenchments. Captain Fordyce, a very gallant officer, at the head of about sixty grenadiers, led the attack: they passed the causeway with the utmost intrepidity, and with fixed bayonets rushed on an enemy, who were properly prepared for their reception; for Captain Fordyce's party were not only exposed, naked, to a heavy fire in front, but were enfiladed from another part of the works. The brave leader, with several of his men, fell; the lieutenant, with the residue, all of whom were severely wounded, were taken prisoners.

The fire of the artillery from the British fort, enabled the forces under the command

mand of the governor, to retreat from the post which they had occupied, and which was now no longer tenable, without pursuit ; and as all hopes in this quarter were terminated by the defeat, Lord Dunmore thought it expedient to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retire on board the shipping, with numbers of persons, who having been active in supporting his measures, found it necessary to seek the same asylum. A considerable number of vessels was, by this means, collected, crowded with people and effects ; but possessing little force and in great want of able mariners. The provincials immediately took possession of Norfolk, and the governor, with his adherents, removed to a greater distance.

The loyalists who had taken refuge in the fleet, together with the seamen and military, quickly became sensible of many difficulties



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difficulties and hardships; provisions, necessities, and every kind of succour, being absolutely denied from the adjacent shore. The ships, likewise, being constantly annoyed by the fire of the Americans, from that part of the town which lay nearest the water, it was determined to dislodge them, by destroying it. A flag, however, was first sent on shore, to learn "whether  
" the provincials would regularly supply  
" his Majesty's ships with water and provisions," which requisition being answered in the negative, extremities were resolved on. Previous notice being accordingly given, that the inhabitants might remove to situations of security, the first day of the present year was signalized by the attack; when a violent cannonading commenced from the Liverpool frigate, two sloops of war, and the Governor's armed ship, the Dunmore; supported by parties of the sailors and marines, who  
landed,

landed, and set fire to the nearest houses. These measures soon produced the intended effect ; but not without the destruction of the whole town, which by the rapid progress of the flames, was quickly reduced to ashes.

I have seen the copy of a gazette, which was printed on board the Governor's ship, he having removed the press and materials thither from Norfolk, in which it is confidently, and with great probability asserted, " that it was only intended to destroy that  
" part of the town which adjoined the  
" river, but that the provincials completed the devastation, by setting fire  
" to the remote streets ; which, as the  
" wind then stood, would otherwise have  
" been secure from danger."

Such has been the fate of the most considerable commercial town in the colony of Virginia ; and the whole loss upon the occasion, is estimated at above three hundred

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dred thousand pounds. This unhappy event has given a fresh alarm to our citizens, many of whom are preparing to quit Annapolis.

The Provincial Assembly have been sitting here, ever since the fourth of December. It is expected they will speedily adjourn.

Our Governor is in perfect health. He still continues to receive every external mark of attention and respect; while the steady propriety of his conduct, in many trying exigencies, reflects the utmost credit on his moderation and understanding.

My ignorance of your situation, is a very considerable addition to the disquietude I experience, on account of public calamities. May my next acknowledge the receipt of an epistle from her who occupies every thought; and whose happiness is the

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primary

primary object I have in view ! Under all the dispensations of Providence I shall remain unalterably yours.

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## L E T T E R    XXVII.

*Annapolis, March 14th, 1776.*

THE inhabitants of this city have been exceedingly alarmed. On the fifth instant, about eight in the evening, intelligence was received, that a ship of war was on her passage up the bay ; and at no great distance from Annapolis. The consternation occasioned by this information, exceeds description. The night was tempestuous ; extremely dark ; and the rain descended in torrents : notwithstanding which, many persons began to remove their effects ; and the streets were quickly crowded

LET. XXVII.

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XXVII.

4th, 1776.

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LET. XXVII. FROM AMERICA

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with carriages laden with furniture, and property of various kinds. A little reflection must have made it evident, that without violent provocation, hostilities would not have commenced: and at all events, that timely notice would have been given, previous to any bombardment. It ought to have been considered, that a governor, acting under the authority of Great Britain, was resident in the town, and, apparently, exercising the powers with which he was invested. No complaint had been transmitted, on his part, relative to the treatment experienced by him, and the adherents of administration. His prudent and consistent conduct, had greatly tended to prevent personal outrages; and under such circumstances, it was manifest, that no commander in his Majesty's service, could have formed the most distant idea of proceeding to extremities, without commu-

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nicating his intentions to the supreme magistrate; who was undoubtedly a valuable pledge in the hands of the people, to secure themselves and property from immediate violence.

But as reason seldom operates under instantaneous impressions, the Governor resolved to pursue every eligible method that might effectually remove the apprehensions so universally entertained. Actuated by such motives, he made immediate application to the Council of Safety, and, in order to dissipate the general anxiety, proposed sending a flag of truce on board his Majesty's ship, the instant she made her appearance, or came to an anchor off the harbour. An offer so evidently tending to preserve the public tranquillity, was accepted with every suitable acknowledgment; and on the seventh instant, a ship of war, accompanied by a tender, passing  
by

by Annapolis, I had the honour to be deputed to perform this service; on which occasion I thought it necessary, in order to obviate any misrepresentation, to transcribe, as follows, the substance of my negotiation, for the inspection of the Governor, the Council of Safety, and the Committee of Observation.

*Friday, March 8th.*

“ By order of his Excellency the Governor, and with the approbation of the president of the Council of Safety, I repaired yesterday on board his Majesty's sloop, the Otter, commanded by Captain Squire, then lying at an anchor in Chesapeak Bay, between Magotty River, and the Bodkin; and delivered to him a letter from the Governor, to which a satisfactory answer was returned, and immediately made known, for the general information of the citizens of Annapolis.

“ In conversation with Captain Squire, I took occasion to expatiate on the temper and moderation of the people of Maryland; their attachment to the British constitution; and their settled aversion to any design of establishing an independency: for an assurance of which, I referred him to the instructions given to their delegates in Congress, and to the proceedings of the late Convention.

“ I informed Captain Squire, that from the commencement of these unhappy dissensions, the Governor and his friends had been treated with respect and attention; I recommended the utmost moderation in the execution of his orders; and assured him, that in so doing, the esteem of the people would be so far conciliated, as to render the Maryland station as convenient and agreeable as the nature of the times would admit.

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“ Captain Squire, on his part, explicitly acquainted me, that it was the furthest from his intentions to proceed to any extremities; that he was instructed to demand a privateer, avowedly fitted out at Baltimore, for hostile purposes; as also some vessels laden with flour, of which the navy were in the greatest want; that he was ready to pay the market price for any provisions that the inhabitants would supply him with; but otherwise he was under an absolute necessity to seize whatever might come within his power. Captain Squire promised, that if his requisitions were complied with, not the least damage should ensue to any individual, or to the town of Baltimore.

“ Captain Squire mentioned, that he had given particular directions to the gentlemen under his command, not to fire, under any pretext, upon such persons as might

assemble on the adjacent shores, or permit any depredations ; but to perform such duty only, as was absolutely essential to his Majesty's service,

“ Captain Squire, from the whole of his behaviour, discovered the utmost concern for the unhappy breach which had taken place between the mother country, and her colonies ; and obliged as he was, to act in the line of his duty, it appeared his most earnest wish to avoid any measures which might only tend to widen the calamitous dissention.

“ To the above I have only to add, that my business on board was to recommend temperate proceedings, and to obtain such intelligence as might conduce to remove the apprehensions of the much alarmed citizens of Annapolis, in which service I have the satisfaction to believe I have not been altogether unsuccessful.

W. E.”

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Early in the afternoon, the arm ' ves-  
fel, of which they were in quest, appeared  
in sight. The tender, belonging to the  
sloop of war, had proceeded further up the  
bay, and had taken possession of a ship,  
with a valuable cargo, then lying at an  
anchor, and ready for sea: but on the ap-  
proach of a force greatly superior, the cap-  
tors were reluctantly obliged to relinquish  
their prize, and hasten to the Otter, with  
intimation of their disappointment. Every  
circumstance plainly indicated an intention,  
on the part of the privateer, to attack his  
Majesty's sloop; which immediately got  
under way, in order to prepare for their  
reception. While they were weighing,  
I took leave of the captain and officers,  
and repaired on board the schooner which  
brought me from Annapolis, in firm ex-  
pectation that the action would commence  
before I could possibly proceed far on my  
return. Shortly after I quitted the Otter,  
she

she struck on a shoal, and heeled considerably, in which situation she could have made very little resistance, had the provincial commander thought it advisable to have then availed himself of that opportunity. She, however, quickly righted, and stood for her opponent, who, possibly in pursuance of orders, put about, and directed her course for Baltimore. Night approaching, and the navigation being intricate, the Otter came again to an anchor near the mouth of the Patapsco.

On the ninth, the Otter returned down the bay, and anchored off the mouth of our harbour; soon after which a flag of truce was dispatched on shore. The officer who brought it was received with respect; two gentlemen of the Council of Safety were present at the delivery of his message; and the day was concluded at the Governor's, in a sociable manner. During this interval,

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val, the seamen who accompanied the officer continued in their boat, at a small distance from the shore, where they supported a friendly conversation with the provincial military, who were stationed on the beach to preserve regularity.

Early on the ensuing day, another flag attended the Governor, but continued with him a very short time: and about noon, the Otter made sail to join the fleet on the Virginia station.

It was certainly a most happy circumstance, that this visit was not attended with more serious consequences. Had an action taken place, which at one time appeared too probable, whatever might have been the event, factious and ambitious men would eagerly have embraced the opportunity to have fomented the general discontent. The Defence, which is the name of the armed ship fitted out at Baltimore, is much superior in force to the Otter sloop,

sloop, and was crouded with seamen and volunteers, who appeared resolute and determined. Many are of opinion they acted wisely in declining the contest. They had retaken the prize, the avowed object of their intentions ; and admitting their claim equal with respect to courage, added to the circumstances of a superior force, these advantages would, probably, by no means have counterbalanced the acknowledged activity and address, which so remarkably distinguishes the seamen of the British navy.

*March 25th.*

I am this day rendered happy by intelligence of your safe arrival, and most pleasing reception. Under what a painful, tedious uncertainty have I laboured ! But my mind is now relieved—you are surrounded by faithful friends, who will zealously exert every effort to promote your tran-

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March 25th.

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tranquillity. That every wish you form  
may be speedily, and effectually realized,  
will be the constant, ardent prayer of your  
faithful, &c.

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## LETTER XXVIII.

*Annapolis, March 29th, 1776.*

**A**N authentic account arrived this  
day, that the British forces have  
evacuated Boston, and that General Wash-  
ington, with the continental troops, had  
taken possession. This important event took  
place on the seventeenth instant. The rea-  
sons which rendered this measure necessary,  
will probably reach England at an earlier  
period than it will reach this part of America.  
Various opinions are industriously circulat-  
ed ; and some, who pretend to have inves-  
tigated

tigated the real motives of this sudden and unexpected event, consider the conduct of Sir William Howe, as a preliminary towards a reconciliation.

The utmost credit is given to the British general, for the propriety and regularity with which he conducted the evacuation; and though his design for some days had been manifestly evident, the provincial army continued quiet in their works, without any efforts to obstruct the embarkation, or to molest the rear. Several hundreds of the inhabitants, whose attachment to Government had rendered them obnoxious, have removed, with their families and effects, on board the transports and ships of war; and numerous conjectures are formed, with respect to their destination. The season of the year operates strongly against a distant voyage. Beacons are, therefore, established along the coast, to give the most  
imme-



immediate notice of their approach, should a design be formed against any other part of the continent, which the commanders of his Majesty's forces may deem more accessible. A short time must resolve every doubt.

From present appearances, there are but faint hopes of a speedy reconciliation. Greater requisitions will assuredly be made, than I fear, can consistently be complied with. In political, as in moral events, one evil imperceptibly leads to another. The original limited boundary is cast far behind; and new claims, and new pursuits, are even sanctified by the fallacious plea of justice and necessity. In Maryland, a spirit of moderation is yet predominant; and if an opinion may be formed from general appearances, every endeavour is directed to restore a constitutional connexion with the parent state. But in several populous

pulous and powerful provinces, doctrines are industriously promulgated, and eagerly received, which will effectually bar every avenue to a pacific accommodation ; and the most sanguine adherents to the interests of Great Britain, cannot, with propriety, indulge the faintest idea, that any single colony, however influenced by circumstance or inclination, can possibly pretend to stem the torrent, should it unhappily tend to the establishment of an independent government.

From such considerations, I am naturally led to believe, that the day cannot be far distant, when it will be necessary for those to abandon this country, who cannot consistently coincide with the popular measures. Be, therefore, always prepared to see me : and let not my sudden appearance affect your mind too sensibly. On the other hand, yield not to gloomy apprehensions,

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without your receiving any intimation of  
my welfare ; and be not alarmed, when  
reports are circulated relative to calamities  
incident to war. Adieu !

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L E T T E R XXIX.

*Annapolis, May 20, 1776.*

**T**HE Congress, by a declaration of  
the fifteenth instant, have earnestly  
recommended to “ the respective assem-  
“ blies and conventions of the united co-  
“ lonies, where no government sufficient  
“ to the exigencies of their affairs has  
“ been hitherto established, to adopt such  
“ government as shall in the opinion of  
“ the representatives of the people best  
T “ con-

“ conduce to the happiness and safety of  
“ their constituents, and America in ge-  
“ neral.” This declaration is grounded  
on the prohibitory act, by which “ the in-  
“ habitants of British America are totally  
“ excluded from the protection of the  
“ crown.” It is also alledged therein,  
“ that no answer has been, or is like to be  
“ returned to the humble petitions of the  
“ colonies; but that instead of attending  
“ to the redress of grievances, coercive  
“ measures are adopted; by which the  
“ whole force of the mother country, aid-  
“ ed by foreign mercenaries, is to be ex-  
“ erted for their destruction. From such  
“ considerations, it is asserted to be abso-  
“ lutely irreconcilable to reason, and good  
“ conscience, to take the oaths and affir-  
“ mations necessary for the support of any  
“ government under the dominion of  
“ Great Britain, and therefore expedient  
“ that the exercise of every kind of au-  
“ thority

"thority under the said crown, should be  
 "totally suppressed, and all the powers of  
 "government hereafter exerted under the  
 "authority of the people of the colonies;  
 "for the preservation of internal peace,  
 "virtue, and good order; as well as for  
 "the defence of their lives, liberties, and  
 "properties, against the hostile invasions,  
 "and cruel depredations of their enemies."

Whether any of the provinces, by their  
 delegates in congress, have dissented from  
 a measure which must, inevitably, be pro-  
 ductive of the most serious consequences,  
 has not yet been ascertained; but it is cer-  
 tain, that the colony of Virginia has taken  
 a most decided lead in promoting a total  
 separation from Great Britain. For on  
 the same day in which congress came to  
 the resolution above-mentioned, the con-  
 vention in Williamsburgh issued a similar  
 declaration, but expressed in such strong  
 and pointed terms, as evidently indicate a

settled determination never to acknowledge themselves in any degree subordinate to the influence or authority of the British government.

There were present that day in convention, one hundred and twelve members, who, after stating the reasons which influenced their conduct, conclude with the following *unanimous* resolution.

“ That the delegates appointed to re-  
“ present this colony in general congress,  
“ be instructed to propose to that respectable body, *to declare the United Colonies*  
“ *free and independent States*, absolved from  
“ all allegiance to, or dependence upon  
“ the crown, or parliament of Great Britain;  
“ and that they give the assent of  
“ this colony to such declaration, and to  
“ whatever measures may be thought proper  
“ and necessary by the congress for  
“ forming foreign alliances, and a confederation

" deration of the colonies, at such time,  
 " and in the same manner, as to them shall  
 " seem best: PROVIDED, that the power  
 " of forming government for, and the re-  
 " gulations of the internal concerns of  
 " such colonies, be left to the respective  
 " colonial legislatures."

To very many this proceeding appears  
 extraordinary and premature; commissi-  
 oners being daily expected to receive the  
 claims of the colonies; in order to adjust  
 and regulate the terms of reconciliation.  
 It is possible their powers may be ample;  
 surely their extent ought at least to be as-  
 certained, previous to any decided mea-  
 sure, which may preclude a possibility of  
 entering upon a negotiation. In speaking  
 thus far, I but declare the sentiments of  
 many respectable individuals who have,  
 hitherto, taken a distinguished lead in op-  
 position to the British legislature; and I

most fervently hope, that the influence of such men, in the different provinces, will operate with sufficient efficacy to prevent the final declaration of independence, until, in their opinion, it becomes an unavoidable expedient, and immediately necessary for the interest, the happiness, and the freedom of America.

*Friday, May 24.*

Some events have recently taken place, in which I am particularly interested, and which will probably be attended with important consequences to me and mine. But that you may be enabled to form a proper idea of my present critical situation, I must relate some material circumstances, which took place early in the preceding month.

A gentleman, who had some private concerns with the Earl of Dunmore, obtained permission from the council of safety  
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LET. XXIX.

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LET. XXIX. FROM AMERICA.

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Maryland, to attend his lordship on board his ship, then lying off the town of Norfolk in Virginia; and on his return he took charge of such letters as were arrived in the fleet, addressed to persons in this province, amongst them was a packet for our governor from Lord George Germaine, secretary of state for the American department.

In his passage up the bay, he was boarded by an armed vessel in the provincial service, the commander of which examined his papers, and after taking from him the official dispatches, permitted him to proceed to Annapolis, with such letters as were totally unconnected with political transactions. On the 6th of April he arrived in this city, by which opportunity I had the happiness to receive your epistle of the sixteenth of November last.

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Lord

Lord George Germaine's letter acknowledged the important information which administration had received from our governor, who was assured " of his Majesty's entire  
" approbation of his conduct ; and was directed to proceed in the line of his duty  
" with all possible address and activity."

This packet was forwarded to General Lee, who has the command of the southern district, by whom it was immediately dispatched to Maryland, with a strong recommendation to seize the person of the governor, together with all papers and documents of office ; by which it was presumed some important discoveries would be made of ministerial intentions.

The council of safety acted on this critical occasion with the utmost moderation and delicacy. Governor Eden, by the affability of his manners, and his evident disposition to promote the interests of the  
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province, had conciliated universal regard. They, therefore, avoided proceeding with that precipitate vigour so strenuously enjoined; and only required him to give his parole, that he would not take any measures for leaving the continent, till after the meeting of the next convention.

This requisition the governor, for some time, warmly resisted; but, on conviction that the measure was unavoidable, he thought it necessary to comply, therefore, on the sixteenth of the month, gave every satisfactory assurance.

On the seventh instant the convention assembled, and yesterday they came to a determination respecting my worthy patron; when it was resolved, "that his  
" longer continuance in the province, at  
" so critical a period, might be preju-  
" dicial to the cause in which the colonies  
" were unanimously engaged; and that,  
" there-

“ therefore, his immediate departure for  
“ England was absolutely necessary.” An  
address was accordingly directed to be  
drawn up, and presented to his excellency,  
which was delivered to him this evening  
by a committee of that body.

In this address the sentiments of the  
convention are expressed in liberal terms ;  
“ they acknowledge the services rendered  
“ by the governor to the country, on many  
“ former occasions ; and they express the  
“ warmest wishes, that when the unhap-  
“ py disputes which, at present prevail,  
“ are constitutionally accommodated, he  
“ may speedily return and re-assume the  
“ reins of government.”

I cannot yet form any conclusion how  
I am to regulate my conduct on this im-  
portant occasion. The governor is of opi-  
nion that it is my indispensable duty to re-  
main in Maryland, while the ancient form  
of

of government is, in any degree, acknowledged and continued. But how long that will be, is a matter of great uncertainty.

It is but justice to confess, that the most respectable leading men in this province, have acted with as much temper and propriety, as the nature of the times would admit. Yet I am apprehensive, however favourably they may be now disposed, they will not long be able to stem the torrent which, in several provinces, runs strongly towards independence. Whatever may be the complexion of my fate, I will continue to act consistently with, what I conceive, to be my duty; and should necessity compel me to revisit my native clime, I shall assuredly be supported by a consciousness, that my misfortunes are derived from inevitable events, and not from impropriety of conduct.

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Our friends must not expect from my pen, any comments on the present operations : I am determined to avoid discussions which cannot possibly answer any salutary purpose ; nor will I censure any individual, or collective body, merely from being actuated by sentiments different from my own. Human nature, even in the full possession of every human acquirement, cannot possibly be exempt from error : and the best intended actions are, sometimes, liable to censure. I therefore trust it will be ever my disposition to judge in the most favourable manner of my fellow-creatures, and acknowledge every man to be right, whose conduct is directed by the conscientious dictates of his breast,

*Saturday, June 1.*

Our friend S—— embarked last Sunday for Virginia, to learn whether there were  
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any vessels, on that station, bound for Eng-  
 land ; and yesterday he returned from his  
 expedition. A ship of war, under a flag  
 of truce, will shortly be ordered hither to  
 convey the governor down the bay ; who  
 is now fully engaged in making prepara-  
 tions for his departure. I am, however,  
 of opinion, he will not immediately pro-  
 ceed for Europe ; but that he will be anx-  
 ious to remain near the scene of action,  
 until a competent judgment can be form-  
 ed, whether any reconciliation is likely to  
 be effected ; an event which a few weeks  
 will probably determine.

Mr. S——, myself, and my colleague,  
 are to continue for the present in our re-  
 spective stations. The first named is charg-  
 ed with the settlement of the governor's  
 private concerns ; and as the loan office is  
 of the utmost provincial importance, it is  
 absolutely necessary that the commissioners  
 should

should continue to act in that department, as long as a shadow remains of the ancient constitution. Should those who have now the ascendancy, think it expedient to model a new system, under which I cannot conscientiously remain, I shall avail myself of the first opportunity to take leave of this continent.

In consequence of residing with the governor, I expected an exemption from any penalties inflicted on persons, who had refused to associate or enrol. But in this idea I was very materially mistaken. The committee of observation will not consider me as a member of his excellency's household; alledging in support of their opinion, that I hold offices immediately dependent on the province. These are not times to dispute nice points. I have therefore paid ten pounds for my fine, and have taken a receipt for the same. My  
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arms have likewise been demanded. I am, however, happy to inform you, that I have constantly been treated with kind attention, even by political opponents. It is my endeavour to regulate my conduct with propriety; carefully avoiding mixed company; taking heed that "I offend not with my tongue;" and not permitting my pen to expatiate on the tendency of public transactions. I intrust this to the care of a friend, bound to Lisbon; may it safely reach you!

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L E T T E R    XXX.

*Annapolis, June 4th, 1776.*

EVERY day is pregnant with some new event. I am apprehensive from a recent circumstance, that I must quickly  
bid

bid adieu to Maryland. The committee of observation have, this morning, served me with a summons to attend them on Thursday next, "to give security for my "behaviour during the present unhappy "contention with Great Britain." I must either comply; submit to imprisonment; or abandon the country. The first I consider as incompatible with my oath of allegiance: confinement is an evil I would most willingly avoid; and a voyage to Europe will, inevitably, subject me to all the complicated embarrassments attending disappointment, and a contracted income: but at all events, I will rely on Providence, and persevere in my integrity.

When I appear before the Committee, I propose to intimate my intention of returning home; and shall only entreat a reasonable time to adjust my public and private concerns; that I may be enabled to  
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leave the province with unfulfilled reputa-  
 tion. I hope the Governor will not fail  
 before my fate is determined.

*Friday, 7th June.*

I learn that many of our friends, who  
 are supposed to be inimical to the popular  
 cause, are also summoned by the Com-  
 mittee of Observation, so that such conso-  
 lation as can be derived from having associ-  
 ates in difficulty will at least be afforded me.  
 The concerns of the Loan Office, are of the  
 utmost importance to the public; and some  
 time will be absolutely requisite, to adjust  
 them with propriety. The ruling powers  
 will therefore, surely, be convinced of the  
 necessity of this measure; and comply with  
 a requisition founded on reason, and pro-  
 priety. In that case, a possibility appears,  
 that an accommodation may be effected

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before

before the expiration of the term, which may be allotted for the settlement of that department; and we shall, consequently, be reinstated with every circumstance of advantage and reputation.

*Sunday, 9th June.*

We are in hourly expectation of seeing the ship which is to convey the Governor from this province; and though I am solicitous to transmit the result of Tuesday's proceedings, yet, on his own account, I am anxious for his immediate departure, lest any alteration should take place, which may occasion his detention in Maryland.

In my last letter, I mentioned that it was most earnestly recommended by General Lee, to seize the person of the Governor, together with his papers and official documents. The Congress have, also, in strong terms, urged the expediency of  
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that measure; and the Convention of Virginia, have likewise come to a similar resolution; which they have published to the world; and which they are endeavouring to enforce with all their power.

The sentiments expressed in the resolve of that province, sufficiently evince the danger of delay, as they already appear to operate, with great force, on the minds of the multitude; and there are some who publicly avow their opinion, that the community at large, are not bound to yield their assent to any proceedings of delegates, which, in their consequences, may be prejudicial to the general interests of America.

That you may be enabled to form a clear idea, under what embarrassing circumstances the Governor is at present situated, I have transcribed the resolve for your more particular information.

## “ I N C O N V E N T I O N .

“ *Williamsburg, Friday, May 31, 1776.*

“ Resolved, *unanimously*, That the Committee of Safety be directed to write a letter to the President of the Convention of Maryland, in answer to his letter of the twenty-fifth instant, expressing the deepest concern at the proceedings of that Convention, respecting Governor Eden; and our reasons for not becoming accessory thereto, by giving him a passport through this colony, or the bay adjoining: that we would with reluctance, in any case, intermeddle in the affairs of a sister colony, but in this matter we are much interested; and the Convention of Maryland, by sending their proceedings to the Committee of Safety, have made it the duty of the Convention, to declare their sentiments thereon.

“ That considering the intercepted letter from Lord George Germaine to Governor

vernor Eden, in which his whole conduct, and confidential letters are approved; and he is directed to give facility and assistance to the operations of Lord Dunmore, against Virginia, we are at a loss to account for the Council of Safety of Maryland, their having neglected to seize him, according to the recommendation of the general Congress; and more so for the Convention having promoted his passage, to assist in our destruction, under a pretence of his retiring to England, which we conceive, from the above letter, he is not at liberty to do; that supposing he should go to Britain, it appears to us, that such voyage, with the address presented to him, will enable him to assume the character of a public agent, and by promoting division amongst the colonies, produce consequences the most fatal to the American cause: that as the reasons assigned for his departure, "That he must obey  
" the ministerial mandates while remain-

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LET. XXX.

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May 31, 1776.

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“ ing in his government,” are very unsatisfactory, when the Convention declare, that “ in his absence, the government, in its “ old form, will devolve on the President “ of the Council of State ;” who will be under equal obligation to obey such mandates. We cannot avoid imputing these proceedings to some undue influence of Governor Eden, under the mask of friendship to America ; and of the proprietary interest in Maryland, whereby the members of that Convention were betrayed into a vote of fatal tendency to the common cause, and, we fear, to this country in particular ; and feel it an indispensable duty, to warn the good people of that province against the proprietary influence.

“ Resolved, That the foregoing resolution be forthwith published in the Virginia Gazette.

“ EDM. PENDLETON, *President.*

“ JOHN TAZWELL, *Clk. Convention.*”

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From the above it appears evident, that my observations, respecting the temper and moderation of those who, at present, direct the political concernments of this province, are well-founded. Independence is by no means the general wish in Maryland. Our neighbours are, however, active in propagating the popular doctrines, and I fear the number of proselytes is daily augmenting. The above appeal of the colony of Virginia, has already added fuel to the fire; it has increased the zeal of the violent; and may possibly lead to measures, which those who are now at the helm, have not yet thought it expedient to adopt.

*Monday, 10th June.*

To-morrow I must obey the summons of the Committee. My colleague and I have drawn up the following representation of our case, which we mean to deli-

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ver to the chairman of that body, in order to obviate the necessity of entering into bond.

“ To the chairman and members of the Committee of Observation for Anne Arundel County.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ We flatter ourselves that the following representation will engage the Committee’s candid, and dispassionate consideration ; and that when the personal liberty of even an individual is concerned, his endeavours to preserve it will be received with indulgence.

“ You will please, gentlemen, to observe, that it is not ordered by the Convention, that the Committees of Observation take bonds of all non-affociators, but it is left to their discretion, whether to require bonds or not ; and in the exercise of  
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this power, though the committees are not held, as magistrates are in similar cases, by the obligation of an oath, yet we presume they are bound in honour, not to demand security unnecessary for the public good, and inconvenient and embarrassing to the persons called upon.

“ From the above consideration we inferred, on being required to give up our arms, without any demand or hint respecting the entering into bonds, that the Committee of Observation, in their discretion, did not deem it necessary, or conducive to the public good. Had we been called upon for that purpose, we should have had an opportunity of appealing immediately to the Convention. To that respectable body, we could have represented our peculiar circumstances; that we are officers of the Crown; that we have given security in London for the faithful discharge of our duty,

duty, agreeable to instructions from time to time received, respecting the revenue of customs; that we are not entitled to our salaries without a nihil account, transmitted quarterly of our proceedings; and, that though a correspondence of this nature could be no way injurious to America, yet it might, perhaps, be deemed a breach of the proposed bond, and consequently deprive us of the means of subsistence for ourselves and families; for by the condition of this bond, “no correspondence, “directly or indirectly, by letter, message, “or otherwise, with any person holding a “civil office under the crown, is allowable,” even a demand for, and receipt of our salaries, would be a breach of the condition prescribed.

“Although we are not natives of this country, we are animated with the warmest attachment for its interest and happiness; and

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and we flatter ourselves, that our conduct, for a term of years, has been generally approved, both as servants of the public, and members of the community. We are determined to persevere, faithfully and honourably, in discharging the duties of our respective offices, as long as with propriety we can act in the same; but we cannot sacrifice our honour, or prostitute our oaths, for temporary indulgences. Should we be obliged to depart from this continent, we hope we shall be permitted to take leave, with security to our persons and property, agreeably to a resolve of the Convention, in that case provided; and wherever we may fix our residence, we shall retain the most affectionate regard for Maryland, without deviating from our allegiance to our Sovereign, which has been, and will ever continue to be the invariable rule of our conduct.

“ Not

“ Not to trespass, gentlemen, upon your time, permit us to assure you, that we cannot, consistent with our peace of mind, enter into the proposed bond. We act solely from principle, and the dictates of conscience. Relying, therefore, on your impartiality, we shall cheerfully submit to whatever you may please to determine; and however Providence may dispose of us in future, our prayers shall be continually offered for the prosperity of this once happy province, most ardently wishing a permanent and constitutional reconciliation may speedily take place, and that Great Britain and America may remain, to the latest period, one happy, free, and undivided empire.

“ We are, gentlemen,

“ Your obedient,

“ Humble servants,

“ JOHN CLAPHAM,

“ WM. EDDIS.”

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S LET. XXX.

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JOHN CLAPHAM,  
WM. EDDIS."

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LET. XXX. FROM AMERICA. 301

' Should the Committee be pleased to determine, agreeable to the resolve of the Convention, and grant us passes to depart the country, we have only to desire that a sufficient time may be allotted us, to settle the various and intricate concerns of the loan-office, which we need not observe, are of the utmost importance to the community in general. It is also highly incumbent on us, to leave the business of that department in a clear state, so that our securities, who are engaged in very large sums for our fidelity, may be honourably discharged from the obligations entered into on our behalf.'

We are by no means sanguine, with regard to the above application ; on the contrary, we are prepared to encounter every disagreeable consequence. It is possible a few weeks may be allotted, to adjust provincial and private concerns : we must then

then give up every flattering expectation ; every late erected hope. We must forsake ALL, or act inconsistently with the dictates of honour and of conscience.

The case of my respectable colleague, is uncommonly severe. Mrs. C—— is on the point of adding to a family, already numerous, and totally dependent on his industry for support. In times like these, it is impossible to dispose of any property, in order to raise a sufficiency for their temporary use in England ; notwithstanding which, he is determined to encounter the utmost malevolence of fortune ; every accumulated evil, which penury can inflict, rather than deviate from his principles, or violate his allegiance.

*Tuesday evening, 11th June.*

We have attended the Committee, and have heard their decision. On our refusing to enter into bond, with good and sufficient



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LET. XXX. FROM AMERICA.

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ficient security, under the penalty of ten thousand pounds each, we are directed to leave the province before the first of August. I shall be as expeditious as possible in adjusting my concerns, and shall, probably, be with you before the conclusion of September.

Notwithstanding the Convention broke up so lately, they are summoned to meet again in a few days, on account of some important dispatches received from Congress. The Virginians are exceedingly irritated with our ruling powers, for permitting the Governor to leave the country ; and are taking vigorous measures, which they trust will have an effect in this province, to his prejudice. All who wish him well, are anxious to behold the ship that is to convey him hence, as apprehensions are justly entertained of some violent measures to detain him.

A for-

A formidable association has taken place in the town of Baltimore, under the appellation of the Whig Club; they loudly proclaim the absolute necessity of seizing and securing the person of the Governor, as a pledge for the public safety; and it is asserted, that a plan is actually in agitation to accomplish this purpose, in defiance of that legislature which themselves have established. Under such a combination of perplexing circumstances, his Excellency conducts himself with the utmost coolness and fortitude: he does not appear to entertain the most remote suspicion, but to rely confidently on the honour of the Convention, which is solemnly pledged for his safe departure.

I mean to entrust this letter to the care of my patron, and therefore cannot entertain any apprehension that it will be liable to inspection; and shall, in consequence,

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on the late proceedings of the Committee  
of Observation.

I believe the demand of such unreasonable  
security is unprecedented: it is, therefore,  
evident, that the intention of that body, is  
to banish all who are deemed inimical to  
the popular cause. The case of the Crown  
officers is particularly distressing, as it is  
well known that they are required, under  
the most sacred obligations, to give imme-  
diate circumstantial information of any de-  
signs that may be concerted against the  
peace, or order of government. Who,  
therefore, in possession of the least share of  
reason, would consent to hazard so great a  
penalty, on behalf of men, who must un-  
doubtedly be guilty of perjury, should they  
neglect an opportunity to convey intelli-  
gence. Some of our friends, under simi-  
lar circumstances, entertain an opinion,

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that

that when the Convention meet, they will check the authority of the respective committees, and afford some indulgence to those who have been unnecessarily oppressed by their power. For my part, I very little rely on such delusive expectations. The utmost moderation and temper, considering the complexion of the times, has, indeed, hitherto marked the proceedings of that body; but violent and inflammatory men, are now industriously straining every nerve, to excite general confusion, and plunge us fatally deep in schemes of independence. From this powerful consideration, I am decidedly of opinion that the Convention will not hazard their influence, or their popularity, by injudiciously attempting to extend any indulgence to a description of men, who are too generally proscribed as enemies to the freedom, and the interests of America.

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The instant the governor embarks, I shall establish my temporary residence with my worthy colleague and his family, and with them shall probably bid adieu to Maryland, and to a valuable circle of respectable connexions.

*Sunday, June 16.*

Not any intelligence is yet received of the expected ship. The governor appears rather anxious for her arrival, and his friends are solicitous for his immediate departure, as there are busy spirits at work, who labour to excite commotions with a view to his detention.

It seems to be the general opinion, that the colonies will speedily be declared FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES!—In that case what dreadful calamities must inevitably ensue!—But surely every weighty reason should operate for postponing this

most important measure, until the commissioners have made known the extent of their powers, and the terms they are authorized to propose. Should the colonies be thus precipitate, Great Britain cannot tamely admit the claim, and the sword alone must determine the fatal contest.

Thus circumstanced, I look forward with extreme impatience to the hour of my departure from this country, where every surrounding prospect is dreary and uncomfortable. It is probable I shall be obliged to go by the way of Nova Scotia. From Halifax, the capital of that province, I shall find frequent opportunities of a passage to England; but from this place so few, that, after I am ready for embarkation, I may be detained many weeks before I can be accommodated. But to accomplish my purpose, I must obtain permission to join the British fleet on the  
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LET. XXX.      FROM AMERICA.

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Virginia station, from which vessels are frequently dispatched to the general rendezvous.

It is possible that this course may prove advantageous to our private concerns; and I am confident our worthy friend the commissary-general, will exert his utmost endeavours to render my situation agreeable, while I am necessarily detained in that part of America. By the first ship after the receipt of this, I request you to inform him that, "as it is probable I shall visit  
" his station previous to my return to Eu-  
" rope, I entreat him to take charge of  
" all letters that may be forwarded to his  
" care." He will gratify his own inclination in rendering us every good office; and on my interview with him, I may possibly obtain such information as may enable me to regulate my concerns, with a proper attention to our mutual interest.

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The convention are to meet on Wednesday, and it is probable, before they rise, that some important measures will be determined on by Congress, in which they will be expected to acquiesce. Independence is the general cry of the infatuated multitude: What effects may flow from a proceeding of this nature, are dreadful to imagine. Most fervently do I wish the governor safe on board; for though the convention, at their former session, pledged their honour for his peaceable departure, they may, from an idea of absolute necessity, think themselves justified in rescinding that resolution. The times are so dangerous and unsettled, that it is impossible to draw conclusions from present appearances. Every countenance is clouded with suspicion, and the warmest attachments are obliterated by the malignant influence of political contention. The governor, apparently, continues easy and collected;



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mark of attention; and I am persuaded,  
the consistency and propriety of his con-  
duct, in many trying and peculiar situ-  
ations, will be long remembered with sen-  
timents of esteem and gratitude.

*Sunday, June 23.*

Last night the Fowey frigate, command-  
ed by Captain George Montague, arrived  
off this harbour; and early this morning  
the first lieutenant came on shore with a  
flag of truce. The governor will embark  
in the course of the day. Would he were  
gone! It is impossible to determine what  
a minute may produce. The militia are  
under arms, and a general confusion pre-  
vails. You can well conceive the sensa-  
tions I experience on this very affecting  
occasion.

## L E T T E R    XXXI'

*Annapolis, June 29, 1776.*

**M**Y last, by the governor, will, I trust, safely reach you; but when an opportunity may again offer to transmit intelligence of my situation, is indeed a most painful uncertainty. I shall, nevertheless, occasionally resume the pen, as circumstances may arise; and, as it is my intent carefully to avoid commenting on political transactions, I hope not to encounter any hazard in the course of our future correspondence.

Till the moment of the governor's embarkation on the 23d, there was every reason to apprehend a change of disposition to his prejudice. Some few were even clamorous for his detention. But the council of safety, who acted under a resolve of  
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the convention, generously ratified the engagements of that body; and after they had taken an affectionate leave of their late supreme magistrate, he was conducted to the barge with every mark of respect due to the elevated station he had so worthily filled.

A few minutes before his departure, I received his strict injunctions to be steady and cautious in the regulation of my conduct; and not to abandon my situation, on any consideration, until absolutely discharged by an authority which might, too probably, be erected on the ruins of the ancient constitution. I promised the most implicit attention to his salutary advice; and rendered my grateful acknowledgments for the innumerable obligations he had conferred on me; at the same time I offered my most fervent wishes, that his future happiness might be in full proportion

XXXI

June 29, 1776.

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tion to the integrity of his conduct, and the benevolence of his mind.

In about an hour the barge reached the Fowey, and the governor was received on board under a discharge of cannon: his baggage and provisions were left on shore, to be forwarded in the course of the ensuing day.

During the night, some servants, and a soldier belonging to the Maryland regiment, found means to escape on board his Majesty's ship, which being almost immediately discovered, a flag was sent off, with a message, to captain Montague, demanding the restitution of the men, previous to any further communication.

Captain Montague, in reply, acquainted the council of safety, "that he could not, consistently with his duty, deliver up any persons who, as subjects of his Britannic Majesty,

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Majesty, had fled to him for refuge and protection; that he had strictly given it in charge to such officers as might be sent on shore, not to bring off any of the inhabitants without the express permission of the ruling powers; but that the case was extremely different respecting those who had, even at the hazard of life, given evidence of their attachment to the ancient constitution."

This message not being deemed satisfactory, a letter was dispatched to the governor, demanding his interference in this critical business, with an intimation, that the detention of the men would be considered as a manifest breach of the regulations under which flags of truce are established.

Governor Eden received the officer with proper attention, but replied, he had only to observe, that on board his Majesty's ship, he had not the least authority; and that

Captain

Captain Montague was not to be influenced by his opinion, as he acted on principles which he conceived to be strictly consistent with the line of his duty.

The event of this negotiation was disagreeable in its consequences to the governor. The populace were exceedingly irritated, and it was thought expedient not only to prohibit all further intercourse with the Fowey, but also to detain the various stores which the governor had provided for his voyage to Europe. This resolution was intimated in express terms; and, on the evening of the 24th, Captain Montague weighed anchor, and stood down the bay, for his station on the coast of Virginia.

This incident, inconsiderable as it may appear, will operate strongly against those who have hitherto restrained the impetuosity of the popular zeal. The delegates in congress,  
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LET. XXXI.

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for this province, have been instructed to oppose the declaration of independence; but it now appears almost a general opinion, that Maryland will coincide in every measure which the uniting colonies may think essential for the interest and happiness of the general community.

*July 2.*

The 31st of the present month was the extent of time limited for our continuance in Maryland, by the committee of observation, in consequence of our refusal to enter into the proposed bond. Conscious that it was impossible to settle the concerns of the loan office with satisfaction to the public, to our securities, and to ourselves, within the term they had thought proper to prescribe, Mr. C—— and myself determined to address the convention immediately on their meeting, for such relief as,

on

on principles of justice and equity, we were entitled to demand.

We, accordingly, in firm, but respectful terms, represented our peculiar circumstances, referring them to the memorial which had been presented by us to the committee of observation. On due consideration it was agreed by both houses, "to depute some members of their body to investigate the accounts and transactions of the commissioners of the loan office, to discharge them from that important trust, and to appoint others to succeed them therein."

In consequence of this determination, a considerable period may possibly elapse, before this business will be finally adjusted, till which time we shall be permitted to remain quietly in the country without any further requisition to enter into engagements. This undoubtedly is a great point



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gained in our favour, procrastination being, with us, an object of the utmost importance. A short time may be productive of events conducive to public and private tranquillity. "Hope springs eternal." But were a judgment to be formed from the present aspect of political concerns, every peaceful expectation must be abandoned.

*Annapolis, July 8th.*

At length the decisive blow is struck. The colonies, by their delegates in congress, are declared FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, which great event took place on the fourth instant! By this act they have abjured all allegiance to the British crown; and have renounced every political connexion with the land from which they derive their origin. The declaration will soon reach England, and will be found to contain a long catalogue of grievances.

This

This composition, which is replete with invective, is not more temperate than the measures which it professes to defend. What effect it will have on the councils and operations of government, a short time will possibly determine.

I cannot but contemplate, with horror, the complicated miseries which appear ready to overwhelm this devoted country. Thousands who, at this instant, are flushed with hope, and exulting in a total separation from the interests of the parent state, will, probably, before many months elapse, execrate the precipitation by which they have been hurried into measures fatally prejudicial to their repose and happiness.

Before you receive this, the particulars of the action off Charles Town, in South Carolina, on the 28th of June, will be in the possession of government. Our accounts say, the British troops were totally defeated with a prodigious loss, after many exertions perfectly

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It is reported, that the quarter deck of  
the Bristol was, at one time, cleared of  
every person but the intrepid Sir Peter  
Parker, who stood alone, a spectacle of he-  
roic firmness never exceeded in military  
history. Three of the English frigates,  
by accident, or through the ignorance of  
their pilot, were entangled in some shoals,  
where, for a long time, they appeared to  
be immoveably fixed. With great damage  
and difficulty, two were, at length, got  
off; but not in a condition to render  
any effectual service. The *Actæon*, of  
twenty-eight guns, was burnt by her of-  
ficers and crew, on the following morn-  
ing, to prevent her falling into the hands  
of the provincials, every effort having prov-  
ed ineffectual to remove her from her situ-  
ation. This decisive victory, as it is here  
termed, has given great spirits to the ad-  
vocates for the new government, and will

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tend to confirm them in their hostile disposition.

I trust this to a circuitous passage. It will be forwarded by the French islands. Entertain not the most distant apprehension with respect to my safety; I am treated with liberality and attention. When shall I again acknowledge a letter from you? To remain thus ignorant of the situation of my family, is a weighty addition to the complicated evils I encounter. We must submit with fortitude!

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L E T T E R    XXXII.

*Annapolis, Aug 1, 1776.*

ON the 14th ult. Lord Howe safely arrived at Staten Island, after having been long expected, by many persons with the most anxious impatience.

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Annapolis, Aug 1, 1776.

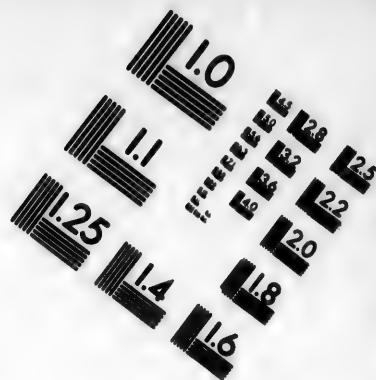
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His lordship immediately dispatched on shore, by a flag, a circular letter to the governors of the colonies, acquainting them with the powers with which he was invested; and desiring that they would publish, as generally possible, an enclosed declaration of the British legislature.

In this declaration the public are acquainted with the powers himself, and his brother the general, are invested with, under the late act of parliament, by which they are authorized "To grant general or particular  
" pardons to those who, in the tumult of  
" the times, might have deviated from  
" their just allegiance; and who were  
" willing, by a speedy return to their duty,  
" to reap the benefits of the royal fa-  
" vour." "The commissioners have like-  
" wise the power of declaring any colony,  
" town, or district, to be at his Majesty's  
" peace; in which case the penal provisions



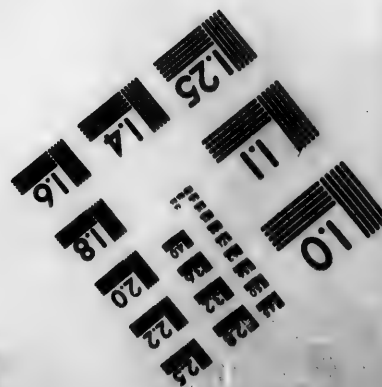
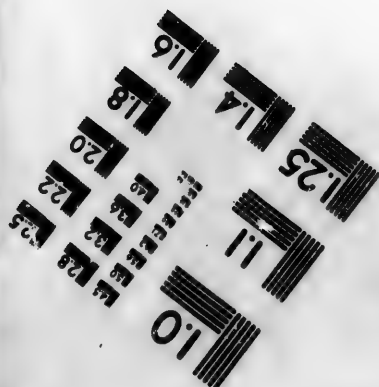
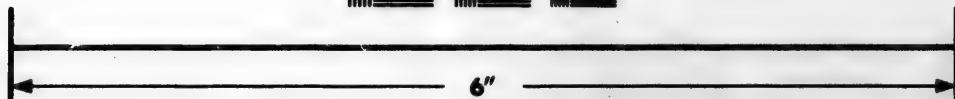


Resolution test chart showing various line patterns and numerical values:

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Additional text on the chart:

- 4.5
- 5.0
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“ of that law would cease in their favour.  
“ A due consideration is likewise promised  
“ to the services of all persons who may  
“ contribute to the restoration of the pub-  
“ lic tranquillity.”

The above papers having been immediately forwarded by General Washington to congress, were, as speedily published, by their directions, in all the prints throughout the united colonies, accompanied with the following resolution.

“ I N   C O N G R E S S .

*July 19.*

“ RESOLVED, that a copy of the circular letters, and of the declaration they enclosed, from Lord Howe, to Mr. Franklin, Mr. Eden, Lord Dunmore, Mr. Martin, and Sir James Wright, late governors, sent to Amboy by a flag, and forwarded to congress by General Washington, be published

LET. XXXII.

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July 19.

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lished in the several gazettes, that the good  
 people of these United States may be in-  
 formed of what *nature* are the commissi-  
 ons, and what the *terms*, with the ex-  
 pectation of which the insidious court of  
 Great Britain, has endeavoured to amuse  
 and disarm them : and that the few, who  
 still remain suspended by a hope, founded  
 either in the justice, or moderation of their  
 late king, may now, at length, be con-  
 vinced, that the valour alone of their coun-  
 try is to save its liberties.

CHA. THOMPSON, Sec."

Thus are the sanguine expectations of  
 multitudes cruelly frustrated ; it being es-  
 teemed criminal, by the ruling powers, to  
 assert the pacific inclinations of the Bri-  
 tish ministry. On the contrary, it is loudly  
 maintained, that unconditional submission is  
 the only ground on which the commissi-  
 oners are empowered to treat ; and there-

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fore to commence any negotiation on such a basis, would be inconsistent with good sense, sound policy, and the essential interests of America. "All hope excluded thus," we must prepare for consequences of the most serious nature; not the most distant probability appearing of a friendly accommodation.

*August 9.*

Advice is received that Lord Dunmore, with his fleet, has quitted the coast of Virginia; and is supposed to be gone to the southward. By every account, the hardships experienced by the loyalists, and by all who were on board those ships, have been dreadful in the extreme. The intense heat of the weather, the badness and scarcity of water and provisions, together with the closeness of the small vessels in which the wretched fugitives were crowded, produced a malignant fever, which  
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*August 9.*

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made great havock, but more particularly  
affected the negroes, most of whom were  
carried off by the violence of the disorder.  
Thus are the hopes terminated with re-  
spect to the emancipation of slaves, in  
order to suppress the commotions in the  
southern colonies.

*Thursday, 5th September.*

Intelligence of a most alarming nature  
has been transmitted from New York. On  
the twenty-second ultimo, the British forces  
landed without opposition, near Utrecht  
and Gravesend, on the south-west end of  
Long Island; and on the twenty-seventh,  
a desperate action ensued, which has  
proved fatal to the arms of America. Par-  
ticulars of the loss in killed, wounded,  
and prisoners, are not yet ascertained.  
Maryland has suffered most severely  
in this conflict; many young men of  
the most respectable families, being in-

cluded in the number of the slain. General Washington has effected a masterly retreat, with the residue of the provincial army, to New York, which is represented as invulnerable. This defeat does not yet appear to be attended with such consequences as might naturally be expected: the colonists seem to depend on their internal resources, and defy the utmost exertions of a brave and conquering enemy. There are, however, moderate men, and some of considerable influence, who are inclined to think that the late event may induce the leaders in Congress to commence an immediate negotiation with the parliamentary commissioners. Whatever may tend to the restoration of peace, cannot but afford the highest gratification to every humane, benevolent mind.

*Monday,*

*Monday, 16th September.*

In consequence of a message sent by Lord Howe to Congress, three gentlemen were deputed to confer with him and the general, in order to learn the extent of their authority, and to hear such propositions as they were enabled to make.

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, were the committee appointed on this very interesting occasion; and the report they have made to Congress on the subject of their conference has totally destroyed every pleasing idea of a pacific treaty.

The following are the words in which the Committee have thought proper to sum up the particulars of their late negotiation; and I shall only add on the subject, that reasons are from this deduced,

to

*Monday,*

to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, against the power and authority of the mother country.

“ Upon the whole, it did not appear to  
“ your Committee, that his Lordship’s  
“ commission contained any other authority of importance, than what is contained in the act of Parliament, viz.  
“ that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think  
“ proper to make ; and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the  
“ King’s peace upon submission : for as to  
“ the power of inquiring into the state of  
“ America, which his Lordship mentioned  
“ to us, and of conferring and consulting  
“ with any persons the commissioners  
“ might think proper ; and representing  
“ the result of such conversations to the  
“ ministry, who (provided the colonies  
“ would subject themselves,) might, after  
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" all, or might not, at their pleasure,  
" make any alterations in the former in-  
" structions to governors, or propose in  
" parliament any amendment of the acts  
" complained of, we apprehend any ex-  
" pectation from the effect of such a power,  
" would have been too uncertain and pre-  
" carious to be relied on by America, had  
" she still continued in her state of de-  
" pendence."

*Tuesday, 24th September.*

The city of New York is in the posses-  
sion of Sir William Howe; but the pro-  
vincials have still great strength in the vici-  
nity of that capital, and talk of maintaining  
their ground till reinforcements arrive,  
which may enable them to retrieve, with  
effect, every past calamity. This event  
happened on the fifteenth instant, and we  
are hourly in expectation of further im-  
portant transactions.

*Tuesday,*



*Tuesday, 1st October.*

Though the declaration of independence was made on the fourth of July last, the form of government, with respect to Maryland is, by no means finally adjusted; and from the delay which has been evident in the proceedings of our Convention, and the committees subordinate to their direction, I cannot but indulge the pleasing idea, in spite of hostile operations, that the moderate and dispassionate, who are included in those bodies, have still sufficient influence to retard an absolute establishment of the new constitution; while the most distant possibility remains of a reconciliation being effected.

The committee appointed to investigate the accounts of the loan office, also appear dilatory in bringing the affairs of that department to a conclusion; and you very  
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well know how particularly I am engaged, both in honour and gratitude, to obtain an ample and proper discharge from an employment of so much importance to the community.

From the present political appearances, I cannot but indulge an opinion, that our legislative body will not proceed with alacrity in the prosecution of this business. A short—a very short time, will probably determine how far the colonies are enabled to support coercive measures against the formidable exertions of the British nation; and should the least prospect appear of returning peace, it would be impolitic and fruitless to discharge officers who would immediately be reinstated with advantage, on affairs reverting into the ancient channel.

My worthy colleague and his family are preparing to remove from Annapolis to a house belonging to Mr. D——, on Hunting Ridge, about six miles distant from

from Baltimore, to which place I intend to accompany them. We propose to attend alternately in this city, until discharged from our employments, or confirmed in them.

*Hunting Ridge, Nov. 1.*

I write to you from one of the most delightful situations on the continent of America, where I have obtained an occasional retreat from the noise, the tumult, and the miseries of the public world. From the back piazza of our habitation, we command a truly picturesque view into several fertile counties; a distant prospect of the eastern shore; the magnificent waters of the Chesapeake, and the river Patapsco, from the entrance at the Bodkin Point, to its apparent termination at the town of Baltimore. After this inadequate description, I need not observe, that we reside on a lofty eminence, where

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Ridge, Nov. 1.

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" ———— the air  
" Nimble, and sweetly recommends itself  
" Unto our gentle senses."

As Mr. C—— and myself are not yet  
superceded in our office, we attend in ro-  
tation, every other week, in Annapolis, from  
which this place is about thirty miles dis-  
tant. The contrast we experience on these  
occasions, is hardly to be described; from the  
churlish sounds of hostile preparation to the  
calm enjoyments of peaceful retirement.  
Though in the vicinity of a large and popu-  
lous town, agitated with uproar and confu-  
sion, and rumours of approaching calamities,  
here, sheltered by surrounding woods, we  
are entirely secluded "from the busy haunts  
of men," and are benevolently permitted  
to enjoy our retirement without dread  
of molestation. It is well known that we  
have never attempted, by any injudicious  
steps, to incur the resentment of those  
who conceive they are warranted by justice

and

and by duty, to take a contrary part ; and while we thus continue to regulate our conduct, we shall surely experience attention, with the most perfect security.

*Hunting Ridge, 1st Decem.*

The whole of York Island is in the possession of his Majesty's forces. General Howe has, for some time, been attempting to force General Washington to a decisive action, which he has, hitherto, avoided with the penetration of a Fabius. Sir William, finding every well-concerted effort ineffectual to accomplish this purpose, has directed his arms against the garrison left for the defence of Fort Washington, a very strong post, situated on a lofty eminence, and to which the approaches were extremely difficult.

On the thirteenth of November, the provincial commander was summoned to  
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Ridge, 1st Decem.  
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surrender, which he refused to do, in the most peremptory terms, declaring he would defend his station to the last extremity. A general assault was, in consequence, determined upon, which took place on the sixteenth, when the fort was carried, after a spirited defence; and the garrison, consisting of near three thousand men, became prisoners of war.

On the eighteenth, Lord Cornwallis, with a strong detachment, passed the north river, in order to attack Fort Lee, and to make some impression in the Jerseys, in which undertaking he was so successful, that the garrison, consisting of about two thousand men, had a very narrow escape, by abandoning the post immediately before his Lordship's arrival, leaving their artillery, stores, and tents behind them.

For the particulars of these important transactions, I shall refer you to the ac-

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counts

counts transmitted home to administration; and have only to offer my most fervent prayers, that the rapid successes which have hitherto attended the British arms, may be productive of an honourable, and permanent reconciliation, founded on such principles as may secure to America the inestimable blessings of liberty, with every consequence attending an abundant population, and an extensive commerce.

I fear many of my letters will miscarry; but I hazard every opportunity of writing. I am persuaded you do the same, though fortune has hitherto been adverse to my wishes. Oppose, with all your power, the intrusion of anxious thoughts, and believe me unalterably yours.

L E T.

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L E T.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

*Annapolis, Jan. 1, 1777.*

SINCE the day our hearts and inter-  
 rests were united, frequent occasions  
 have been afforded for the exercise of our  
 fortitude and resignation, and by the blef-  
 sing of Heaven, we have, hitherto, been  
 safely conducted through every vicissitude.  
 Let us then take courage from past expe-  
 rience. The year opens with the most  
 dreary prospects. The recent event of  
 Trenton, will add strength to the sinews  
 of war, and cruelly procrastinate the wished  
 return of peace.

The capture of Rhode Island, which  
 happened on the eighth of December;  
 and the surprising of General Lee, on the  
 thirteenth, by Colonel Harcourt, were cir-

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circumstances which excited sanguine hopes in the breasts of those who persevered in their attachment to the ancient constitution ; and these hopes were encouraged by a strong probability, that Philadelphia must speedily follow the fortune of New York, the Delaware being the only apparent obstacle that seemed likely to oppose the progress of the royal arms.

The provincial forces, who were only enlisted for a stipulated time, discouraged by a succession of unfavourable events, were so greatly reduced in their numbers, that it is asserted, on the day preceding the affair at Trenton, the muster roll scarcely exceeded three thousand men ; and the greater part of those were anxious for the expiration of their term, that they might return to their families, and their accustomed vocations. The Congress, from a well-founded apprehension of danger, re-  
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 after roll scarcely  
 d men; and the  
 re anxious for the  
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 and their accus-  
 Congress, from a  
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treated with precipitation to Baltimore;  
 and many who had been most zealous in  
 promoting hostile measures, began to avow  
 sentiments of a conciliatory nature; in a  
 word, the general disposition of the colo-  
 nies tended to a reconciliation, and even  
 the submission of some of the provinces  
 was daily expected.

Affairs were in this promising train,  
 when the American general planned, and  
 executed the late important enterprise.  
 Trifling as this manœuvre might have  
 been considered, in the prosecution of a re-  
 gular war, it has been, in this instance, at-  
 tended with the most prejudicial and alarm-  
 ing consequences to his Majesty's arms.  
 It has given spirits to those who shewed  
 the utmost despondency; it has recruited  
 the enfeebled ranks; and it has enabled  
 the enthusiastic leaders to magnify, in the  
 most exaggerated terms, the advantages

that must inevitably arise from the success of this brilliant exertion.

To many it has appeared extraordinary, that the advanced post was occupied by Hessian regiments, who might reasonably be supposed less competent than British, to determine on the authenticity of intelligence, or the disposition of the colonists, with respect to political attachment. But how far censure is well founded, it becomes not an individual to determine. It ought rather to be concluded, that those arrangements took place, which on mature reflection, apparently, led to the advancement of the general service.

The mode hitherto adopted by Congress, in conducting their enlistments, has been found so inadequate to every essential purpose, that they have concluded on adopting a different one, which affords the probability of a permanent army, under the  
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most strict and regular military discipline. Hitherto their troops have been raised with a condition of receiving their discharge at the expiration of twelve months; and they conceived, that this rotation of duty would occasion the weight to fall less heavy on the general community. But such a continual succession of men, unexperienced, and impatient of restraint, has rather impeded than promoted the success of their operations. It is therefore resolved, to prosecute the new levies on a settled establishment. Those who engage to enlist during the continuance of the war, are to have an immediate bounty of twenty dollars; and one hundred acres of land each, at the expiration of their service. Officers are to be rewarded in proportion to their respective situations. Others are admitted for the stipulated term of three years, who are to receive the same bounty, without any landed compensation. By this regula-

tion, it is supposed a very formidable army will be ready to take the field early in the ensuing spring, under a commander who has inspired every adherent to the measures of Congress, with the most unlimited confidence in his superior abilities.

It is confidently asserted, and it appears to be universally believed, that General Washington will quickly be enabled to repossess the Jerseys, and to contract the British posts into a very limited sphere of action. This is certain, that apprehensions respecting Philadelphia, are no longer seriously entertained, Congress having it in contemplation, speedily to resume their deliberations in that city,

Myself and colleague, are not yet superseded in our provincial employment ; but the day is assuredly at hand. When that event has taken place, I am persuaded I shall be at liberty to revisit England ; and  
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have reason to believe, I shall be necessi-  
 tated to shape my course by way of the  
 West Indies. I think it possible we may  
 be restored to each other early in the en-  
 suing summer.

It has been a matter of surprise to many,  
 that the capes of Virginia have, in a great  
 measure, been left open, since the depar-  
 ture of Lord Dunmore and his fleet from  
 the Chesapeake. In consequence of this  
 apparent remissness, on the part of the  
 British cruizers, a considerable commerce  
 is carried on, with very little interruption,  
 between Virginia and Maryland, and the  
 French and Dutch islands, and even with  
 several ports on the continent of Europe.  
 Those who continue attached to the inter-  
 est of Britain, behold, with infinite con-  
 cern, many valuable prizes continually  
 brought into American harbours, by pri-  
 vateers so inconsiderable in appearance, that  
 they

they might readily be mistaken for boats belonging to the vessels they were triumphantly conducting. Almost all the ships which have hitherto been taken, had not the least apprehension of danger, consequently were not prepared for resistance ; and if a certain judgment may be formed from the success which has attended the adventurers from this, and the adjacent colony, Great Britain must sensibly experience the loss she has already sustained, by the rapid and spirited exertions, which have been so unexpectedly directed against her commerce.

The exorbitant price of almost every essential article, exceeds credibility. Those few who are in possession of specie, do not permit it to circulate ; and the constant depreciation of the paper currency, baffles every attempt of the legislature to support its credit ; yet, in spite of every apparently  
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insurmountable obstacle, the utmost ala-  
cridy appears for the prosecution of the  
war; and the most sanguine hopes are  
evidently entertained, that the political  
connexion between Great Britain and Ame-  
rica, is finally and effectually dissolved.

The internal government of Maryland,  
is not yet perfectly adjusted, but the ar-  
rangements, under the new constitution,  
are in great forwardness, and will speedily  
take place in the various departments. Our  
discharge will, undoubtedly, immediately  
follow, and we shall be free to shape our  
course as providence may direct.

When we again meet, I trust we shall  
find friends, "though they grow not  
thick on every bough," who will pro-  
mote our endeavours to obtain a compe-  
tent maintenance. Under all the varied  
circumstances of life, we will steadily la-  
bour to merit success; and should our best  
endea-



endeavours be frustrated, we shall, at least, be exempt from self-accusation, and can derive no little satisfaction, from a consciousness that our sufferings are not the bitter fruits of dissipation or misconduct.

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## L E T T E R    XXXIV.

*Frederick County, March 1, 1777.*

C H A N G E of scene is frequently conducive to a temporary tranquillity. In order therefore to obtain, if possible, some relief, some mitigation of my anxiety, I set out, about twelve days since, on a visiting excursion into this fertile and beautiful country; and am now beneath the hospitable roof of Doctor John Stephenson, in the vicinity of Frederick Town, where

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# XXXIV.

March 1, 1777.

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where I have been entertained with that ge-  
nuine hospitality which so remarkably cha-  
racterises the *American Romulus* \*.

On my return to the Ridge, I expect  
some material information relative to my  
particular situation; and have reason to  
believe that I am, before this, reduced to  
a private station, and that one journey to  
Annapolis will settle my concerns as an of-  
ficer under the ancient constitution; after  
which I shall, certainly, embrace the ear-  
liest opportunity of departing from the  
wretched scene of confusion which this  
country, at present, exhibits.

*Hunting Ridge, April 2.*

We are, at length, superceded in our de-  
partment as commissioners of the Loan  
Office; but it is probable some time will  
elapse before we shall obtain our final dis-  
charge, as the accounts and transactions

\* See page 98.

must

must undergo the investigation of a committee of both houses. I shall be extremely impatient for the conclusion of this business; after which I cannot entertain a doubt of procuring an immediate passport from America.

On the twenty-first of last month, a letter arrived from Sir Robert Eden, whose integrity and services have procured him an honourable distinction. A prelude, let us hope, to more essential advantages.

On the same day which brought the above pleasing intelligence, Mr. Thomas Johnson was proclaimed governor of the State of Maryland: the cannon from the ramparts were discharged at the conclusion of the ceremony; the military were under arms, and the American standard was hoisted on the principal battery.

Every circumstance tends to convince me, that I must quickly bid farewell to a  
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country, where I have experienced many benefits, and formed many valuable connexions. Could I obtain permission to visit New York in my way to Europe, I am certain I should there meet with letters of the greatest importance to my interest and happiness. Influenced by that consideration, I have applied for the necessary passport, to be granted immediately after the affairs of the Loan Office are finally adjusted. I cannot say that I entertain any great hopes of success; and most of my friends are of opinion, I shall meet a refusal; in which case I must be content with a circuitous and expensive passage by way of the West Indies. Reduced as I am in my circumstances, how I am to raise the necessary supply is a very serious consideration; but I will not agitate my mind with the concerns of a future day. It is a proof of imbecility to—"shape the fashion of uncertain evils."

*April 12.*

My application for permission to enter the British lines is positively rejected; I must therefore be content to take my passage by way of the French islands.

*Annapolis, May 1.*

I have taken my leave of Hunting Ridge, and trust I am on the point of bidding farewell to Maryland. The concerns of the Loan Office will, I hope, be adjusted in a few days; I have agreed for my passage in a vessel bound from Alexandria in Virginia to Martinique, from which place I shall pursue the path which Providence may direct.

*Annapolis, June 1.*

The affairs of the Loan Office were closed but yesterday; when my colleague and myself obtained a most ample and honourable discharge from that employment.

The

*April 12.*

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*Annapolis, May 1.*

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*Annapolis, June 1.*

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The ship I proposed sailing in is yet at Alexandria, but her destination is changed, she being ordered to Bourdeaux, and her departure uncertain.

Mr. D——, who was to have participated in my fortune, has taken his passage in an armed schooner, which, in my circumstances, I do not conceive to be an eligible method; I shall therefore leave him to his chance, and pursue myself another course.

Mr. C—— sets out this day for his delectable retirement on Hunting Ridge. When shall we meet again?—I most fervently hope he will be permitted to enjoy his humble retreat without fear of molestation: at all events he must be greatly embarrassed to support his numerous family with any degree of comfort. Indeed he will have full occasion for the exertion of his utmost fortitude; but his

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established character, and his manly, generous disposition, must secure to him attention and respect, under every change of fortune.

*Wednesday, June 4.*

Yesterday I received my passport, and wait only the arrival of the post on Friday to determine my course. I have written to my friend Mr. C——, who is a member of congress, on the subject of obtaining permission to enter the British lines; and have represented in the strongest terms I was able, “ the peculiarity of my situation, and my total incapacity to support  
“ the heavy additional expense which must  
“ attend a voyage to Europe by way of  
“ the Islands: I have also urged domestic  
“ motives: in short, I have suggested  
“ every reason which can induce compliance; I have even requested to be considered as a prisoner upon parole, and  
“ have

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*Wednesday, June 4.*

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LET. XXXIV. FROM AMERICA.

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“ have offered to remain in Philadelphia,  
“ or in some American post, until I can,  
“ by application to my friends in New  
“ York, obtain some person, in a civil ca-  
“ pacity, to be exchanged for me.”

Should I succeed in this attempt, it is possible I may be relieved, in a few days, from a state of inexpressible anxiety, by receiving intelligence respecting those who occupy every thought; and whose interest and happiness are the primary objects of my attention. If I fail, I must submit to the disappointment with fortitude, supported by the reflection, that I have directed my best efforts to the accomplishment of my wishes; and that the failure has not proceeded from any neglect on my part, or any impropriety of conduct. At all events, on Saturday or Sunday, I shall set out for Philadelphia, or cross the Chesapeake, and proceed to an inlet on the east-



ern shore ; from which I am informed, there are frequent opportunities of passing to the French islands.

I mentioned that we had obtained a most honourable discharge from our late provincial department, as I am well convinced it will be highly pleasing to you to learn any circumstance which reflects credit on my reputation, I give you the following extract from the report to both houses.

“ Your committee further take leave  
“ to report that, from the multi-  
“ plicity of business, the nature of  
“ the trust, and the care and re-  
“ gularity of the transactions, they  
“ are of opinion, that the commis-  
“ sioners and clerks annual salaries  
“ have been very inadequate to the  
“ services they have rendered the  
“ public.”

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Mr.

Mr. D—— is in hourly expectation of the armed vessel in which he has taken his passage for France; I mean to intrust this packet to his care, and should he be detained till Friday evening, I shall be able to inform you particularly what route I intend to pursue.

General Washington is said to be in great force, and in possession of a strong country in the vicinity of Brunswick; it is therefore probable, that some important event will speedily happen, which may bring this fatal contest to a decisive issue. It seems, however, to be a prevailing opinion, that Sir William Howe will find great difficulty in forcing his wary opponent to a general action, unless obvious advantages justify the measure.

*Friday Even. June 6.*

My fate is determined. Reasonable as my requisition appeared, it cannot possibly

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be

be complied with ; I must therefore embrace the only means afforded me, under a perfect conviction of this great truth, that " Whatever is, is right."

*Saturday Morn. June 7.*

A more certain method offers than by way of the eastern shore. So far I appear successful. Last night a vessel arrived off Annapolis, bound to Cape François in Hispaniola, from whence, to Jamaica, the distance is not considerable. I have agreed with the master for my passage, and tomorrow we are to sail for our destined port.

How strange are the events of human life ! I am now preparing to re-visit the town of Kingston, where I shall, possibly, meet some ancient friends for whom I still cherish a grateful attachment.

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*Saturday Even.*

I have taken leave of the few faithful friends still residing in Annapolis. Perhaps a final one! It is a painful distressing idea! But I am hastening to those, my separation from whom I have so long felt, and lamented. That thought will firmly support me under every anxious trial it may be yet my fortune to encounter. I shall embark in a few minutes.—So will Mr. D——, as his vessel is likewise in the harbour, and ready for sea. Our projected route, though aiming at the same point, is widely different. I shall deliver this to his care. Should he accomplish his passage, agreeable to his wishes, he must reach England long before I can possibly expect that happiness. Adieu!—

## L E T T E R    XXXV.

*On board his Majesty's Ship Emerald,  
Capes of Virginia, July 2, 1777.*

**A**F T E R encountering a variety of perplexing and vexatious circumstances, I have been met with success beyond my most sanguine expectations. The most agreeable prospects are opening to my view ; and I shall speedily obtain ample compensation for those various anxieties which have so long disturbed my repose.

My last intimated that I had taken my passage from Maryland, in a vessel bound to Cape François, in the island of Hispaniola. On the evening of the seventh of June, I took an affectionate leave of our few Annapolitan friends ; and, I need not say, such were my sensations on the occasion,

## XXXV.

*My's Ship Emerald,*  
*July 2, 1777.*

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sion, that I repaired on board the ship de-  
 tined to convey me from that province, with  
 a mind greatly distressed and agitated.

It would have evinced the utmost in-  
 sensibility to have quitted without such  
 feelings, the scene of former happiness and  
 prosperity. I reflected on the obligations  
 we had received ; the benefits we had ex-  
 perienced, and the connexions we had  
 formed. I could not resist the united im-  
 pressions excited by such interesting ideas ;  
 nor did I quit my pensive station on the  
 deck, while a single object could be distin-  
 guished that so forcibly reminded me of  
 past felicity.

Soon as the day dawned on the eighth,  
 we weighed anchor, and stood down the  
 bay with a propitious gale. I found two  
 gentlemen on board, proprietors of the ves-  
 sel and cargo ; knowing them well, I pro-  
 mised myself great satisfaction from their  
 society,

society, and my expectations were completely gratified.

As we passed the mouth of Patuxent, I beheld, with emotions of gratitude, the hospitable mansion of our benevolent friend. Those doors which ever opened with equal alacrity, to the weary traveller, and to the opulent guest, are now forsaken, even by the generous worthy owner!—The colonel, his lady and family, are retired into the interior country, that they may be further removed from the inevitable calamities of war.

Our passage down the bay was tedious; the winds proving variable. On Saturday the 14th, when we were standing in for York River, in order to obtain information, and to avail ourselves of a proper opportunity to prosecute our course, we descried a British ship in chase of an American sloop. My sensations on this occasion,

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sion, were such as I cannot possibly delineate; and I could scarce refrain expressing a wish, that the English colours were flying on our ensign staff. The master of our vessel, and my fellow passengers were, for some time, apprehensive of danger; and I believe we were greatly indebted for our escape to some considerable shoals, which rendered the navigation extremely intricate and dangerous. Our captain being an expert seaman, profited by the advantages he possessed; and, in a short time, we were safely at an anchor, opposite to the town of York, and close beneath the stern of an American frigate.

My companions, though well inclined to government, expressed much satisfaction on finding themselves secure within the limits of an American port, for had they been captured, notwithstanding their sentiments were loyal, their property would have



have been justly forfeited, as they were attempting to support an illicit commerce. To this measure they were, however, reduced by absolute necessity; it was the only means they could possibly devise to quit their wretched country, without embarrassing their friends and relatives, who were compelled, by unavoidable circumstances, to continue in the province.

These gentlemen finding the capes effectually guarded by several of his Majesty's ships, and being, consequently, convinced that it was impracticable to pass them with any degree of safety, determined to remain in Virginia, until a more favourable opportunity presented itself. This determination by no means accorded with my wishes. The least detention appeared hostile to my happiness; and under my peculiar circumstances, if no motives of a superior nature had operated, I could  
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venience, the accumulated expence which  
unavoidably must have attended such a  
measure. I therefore began to devise some  
proper method of abandoning a situation  
which threatened a tedious and painful ob-  
struction to the renewal of our domestic  
intercourse.

Animated by such considerations, I re-  
solved on an immediate application to the  
officer, who commanded the provincial  
troops in that district. To this gentleman  
I explained my particular situation, with-  
out the least reserve: the pressing motives  
which required my immediate presence in  
England: the disappointment I had sus-  
tained by the detention of our vessel, and  
the advantages which would arise to me by  
a permission to be put on board one of the  
British cruizers, from whence, by way of  
New York, I might obtain a speedy con-  
veyance

veyance to my family and connexions in Europe. To corroborate assertions, founded on the strictest truth, I submitted to his consideration the passport which had been granted to me by the ruling powers in Maryland.

I was heard by this officer with candid attention, and the propriety of my plea was readily admitted—he could not conceive the necessity of waiting a distant opportunity, or of prosecuting my voyage by way of the West Indies, therefore advised me to proceed immediately to Hampton, where some Virginian gentlemen, adherents to the former government, were on the point of embarking for New York, under the operation of an act of their legislature; and he was persuaded, on an explicit representation of my case, I should not find any difficulty in being permitted to avail myself of the benefit of the flag, under the  
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protection of which those persons were pre-  
 paring to quit the colony.

You will admit that I dispatched this  
 important concern with becoming spirit  
 and expedition, for on Monday the 16th,  
 I exchanged reciprocal wishes with my  
 Maryland friends, and left them to pursue  
 fortune agreeably to the mode they had  
 adopted.

About noon, the weather being intensely  
 hot, I embarked in a small open boat for  
 the place of my destination, which was  
 about ten leagues nearer to the sea. The  
 capes opened to our view a considerable  
 time before we obtained sight of Hampton,  
 and I anticipated the happiness I expected  
 shortly to experience, by passing them on  
 a more eligible plan than necessity had ori-  
 ginally suggested. I fondly conceived that  
 I had almost surmounted every difficulty,  
 and could not avoid congratulating my-  
 self

self on the happy address by which I had so fortunately converted an apparent disappointment into such real advantage. Supported by these ideas, I experienced but little inconvenience during several hours that I was confined in a very limited and exposed situation ; and scarcely had I reached my desired harbour, where a new scene of operations was to commence, before a tremendous gale arose, which raged for several hours with incredible violence, and threatened inevitable destruction to those who were exposed to its fury. Perhaps I was wrong : but I could not avoid drawing the most favourable conclusions from this dreadful elementary war : I considered my escape as an undoubted prelude to future prosperity ; and I experienced a confidence in my mind which led me boldly forward to the completion of my arduous design. But scarce had I landed on the beach ere I experienced a disappointment which

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which overthrew all my late hopes. Those gentlemen, in whose fortune I trusted to have participated, and for which purpose I had strained my utmost abilities, and hazarded the most imminent danger, were embarked the preceding evening, and left melancholy impressions on the minds of their friends, on account of the sudden, and violent tempest \*.

How to extricate myself from the difficulties which now surrounded me I knew not. I was in a place where I had not the slightest connexion ; and where the appearance of a stranger was a sufficient motive to excite suspicion. Time, however, was precious : I therefore determined not to lose a moment. It was generally known in Maryland that I had taken my passage by way of the islands ; and it was possible I might

\* The author had the satisfaction to learn, on his arrival at New York, that they had safely accomplished their passage.

meet some person from that province, who would throw insurmountable obstacles in my way, by representing my intentions in an unfavourable point of view. Agitated by such apprehensions, and encouraged by the success which had attended my application at York Town, I waited instantly on the commanding officer, and, assuming a confidence necessary in my situation, intimated the circumstances of my disappointment, by the necessity of taking shelter in York River; the motives which had brought me to that place, in consequence of it, and the inexpressible mortification I had experienced by arriving too late to avail myself of so favourable an opportunity. I therefore entreated that he would facilitate a re-union with my family and connexions, by granting me the indulgence of a flag, under the conduct of which I might obtain a temporary situation on board one of the British ships stationed  
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in the vicinity of the capes, until an opportunity offered to convey me to some port, from whence I might find a ready passage to England.

From the commencement of the war, I had established it as a fixed principle, that they who were actually engaged in hostile opposition, were directed by more liberal sentiments than those inflammatory demagogues, who had arisen to eminence by fomenting discontents, and taking a distinguished lead in popular assemblies; and experience, on various occasions, has fully confirmed the truth of this observation.

In Hampton, fortunately for me, all public affairs were under military direction: the person who commanded, attended with complacency to my application; and expressed an earnest sollicitude to render



me every possible service consistent with his duty.

On the following day (the 17th) this business was more fully investigated in presence of the officer who directed the marine department; and, on my delivering the passport, which had been granted for my departure from Maryland, no reasons appeared to operate against compliance with my request; therefore to my inexpressible joy, leave was immediately granted to engage a vessel for my passage, and a gentleman was deputed to attend me with a flag, as soon as I gave intimation that I was ready for my departure.

Favourable as appearances now were, it was my fate still to encounter disappointment: I found infinite difficulty in procuring a boat, from a settled persuasion that, notwithstanding a flag was granted, it was dangerous to rely on that privilege.

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Every hour's delay increased my disquietude; yet it was not until about noon on the 20th, that I was able to accomplish my purpose.

When the necessary arrangements for our departure were made, I rendered my grateful acknowledgments where they were so justly due, and, accompanied by the officer who was appointed to conduct me, repaired to the landing place, where a vessel was waiting for our reception. Unfortunately at that critical period, the wind freshened to a perfect gale; the sea run high, and my companion, from an apprehension of danger, intimated his resolution to postpone the undertaking till the weather was more moderate. It was in vain that I urged every motive to alter his determination; my best arguments were ineffectual; and, with inexpressible reluctance, I was obliged to relinquish my

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design, and wait the event of the ensuing day.

Anxious with respect to the great concern which occupied my mind, a short time before sunset I repaired to the harbour, to gain information relative to the state of the weather, and the probable time when it might be adviseable to resume our undertaking. The person, whose schooner I had engaged, comforted me with the most favourable intelligence, and advised me to be on board by the dawn of day, that advantage might be derived from the land breeze, which generally prevailed at that season of the year, till the sun had attained a considerable height above the horizon. With alacrity I hastened to communicate these particulars to the officer who had been appointed to attend me, when I received intelligence which disconcerted every plan, and presented to my de-

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jected view, a gloomy prospect of insurmountable difficulties. In short, he informed me, that the battalion then quartered in Hampton, had that instant received orders to march, early on the following morning, to join the grand army under command of General Washington; and that consequently he could not gratify his own feelings by forwarding my intentions of quitting America.

This intimation, so sudden, so unexpected, affected my mind in the most sensible manner. The officer to whom I had delivered my passport, had already taken his departure, and though I could obtain evidence that I had been in possession of such a credential, yet I might have to negotiate with people of a less liberal and more suspicious nature. Part of another regiment was hourly expected, to the commanding officer of which I should be ne-

cessitated to renew my application. Delay, in every point of view, being replete with danger, I hastened back to the wharf, and candidly acquainted the master of the vessel with the foregoing circumstances, reminding him that, as a full authority still existed for his receiving me on board, he could not possibly incur any censure by the prosecution of our design, as soon as the favourable moment offered to proceed on our destined course.

My arguments, though strongly urged, did not appear to produce conviction; he conceived a flag was absolutely requisite to protect him from being captured; and that by venturing to conduct me without that security, he might entail ruin on himself and family. -I attempted to combat his objections, by alleging, that the very circumstance of conveying a British subject, who had undoubted credentials to  
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ation. Delay, being replete with the wharf, and after of the vessel, in circumstances, rendered authority still on board, he was censured by the as soon as the to proceed on

strongly urged, conviction; he was entirely requisite to be captured; and to instruct me without any tail ruin on him, tempted to combat, that the very giving a British substituted credentials to secure

secure the most favourable reception, would effectually prevent any consequences prejudicial to his safety or his interest. I remonstrated to the wind; he appeared inflexibly determined; and it was, with the utmost difficulty, that at length I persuaded him to reflect maturely on the reasons I had advanced, and to give me, within two hours, his ultimate resolution.

You will readily conceive the agitation of my mind during this painful interval, especially as a hint had been given me, that the officer who commanded the galleys, and who, on repeated occasions, had approved himself a zealous partizan, had, in the course of the day, intimated an alteration of sentiment, relative to the measures necessary to be pursued, previous to my departure from the colony. This officer seemed to apprehend an application ought to be made, on my part, to the legislative

lative authority; and that the permission which had been granted was insufficient, without the sanction of the civil power. A journey to Williamsburgh must have been the consequence of such an opinion being adopted; and, perhaps, even then, on representing my situation to the Council of Safety in that city, it might have been thought expedient to apply to the government of Maryland, for authentic documents to corroborate my assertions. Such a proceeding must, inevitably, have been attended with a tedious delay, and with increased expence; not to mention the strong probability, that a positive prohibition would have been the consequence of such a reference.

Under these peculiar circumstances it was absolutely necessary that I should appear perfectly collected, in order to remove all suspicion of my pursuing indirect measures  
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to accomplish my purpose. I therefore joined a party, with whom I had occasionally associated since my residence in Hampton, and discussed with them the circumstance of the sudden departure of the battalion, and the objections unexpectedly started by the master of the vessel, against receiving me without the formality of a flag. I acquainted them, that an officer had accompanied me to the wharf, who had avowed his authority to be my conductor, but was prevented from executing his commission by a sudden violent gale, which had impressed his mind with apprehension of danger; therefore, conceiving the master fully justified in proceeding on the permission already granted, I requested the sentiments of those gentlemen with respect to the conduct necessary to be adopted for his entire satisfaction.

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I was heard with the most obliging attention, and it appeared to be their unanimous opinion, that I had complied with every requisite ; that I was not actuated by any hostile intentions against America ; that I had an undoubted right to avail myself of the most immediate opportunity to obtain a passage to Europe ; and that the master of the schooner, who had been publicly engaged to convey me on board a British ship, could not possibly be subjected to any censure by the civil authority in Virginia ; nor would he encounter any hazard with regard to the detention of his person and property, by the officers and seamen in his Majesty's service.

Though I was happy in hearing sentiments so perfectly agreeable to my wishes, yet I experienced much agitation, lest they might not prove effectual where it was immediately necessary they should be attended to ;  
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and a considerable time elapsed, beyond the  
limited period, before I received intimation  
that the party in question had made enquiry  
for me.

In an instant I determined to make this  
transaction a public concern, and to re-  
ceive his determination in presence of those  
who had so kindly evinced a solicitude  
for my welfare: he was therefore requested  
to enter the room, and to deliver his opi-  
nion without reserve.

The undisguised conduct which I as-  
sumed on this very interesting occasion,  
instantly operated in my favour. The  
master expressed his doubts in a less forcible  
manner; and they were answered by per-  
sons totally unconnected with my views,  
with whom he was well acquainted, and  
who could not possibly be governed by any  
motives prejudicial to his welfare or repu-  
tation. The event more than answered  
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my expectations: the arguments adduced on my behalf; the persons by whom they were delivered; and the open manner in which I had submitted to investigation, carried conviction to his mind; he engaged to receive me without any further application, and promised to be ready for me by the earliest dawn.

It was late before I retired to my apartment, and then without the least propensity to partake of rest: I threw myself on the bed, and yielded to a successive train of gloomy apprehensions. Indeed my situation was extremely intricate: early in the evening I had seen two persons, whom I knew to be residents in Annapolis; I had endeavoured to avoid them, but perceiving myself discovered, I assumed an air of confidence, accosted them with apparent composure, and enquired after the welfare of several, with whom I had been happily  
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connected in better times. They knew I had taken my departure for the West Indies, and appeared inquisitive concerning the motives which had occasioned my continuance on the continent. In brief terms I intimated the disappointment we had encountered, and the necessity of awaiting a more favourable opportunity; that the vessel was still lying in York River, and that I had been led into that neighbourhood on a visit of friendship and curiosity.

Though my detail appeared to gain credit, I had some reason to conceive, that they entertained suspicions of my real design, which they might consequently attempt to frustrate, by immediate measures to my disadvantage. However I had sufficient resolution to invite them to my quarters, and obtained a ready assurance that they would see me early on the en-

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fuing day, to receive my commands for Maryland.

This event was an additional motive to urge dispatch; and it also pointed out the method necessary to pursue, if I found the master of the vessel inflexible to my arguments: I determined, in that case, to receive my unwelcome visitors with an appearance of satisfaction, and if they were returning to Annapolis, by way of York Town, even offer to accompany them to that place, as to the proper situation where I was awaiting an opportunity to proceed for the ocean.

Having, after our separation, succeeded in my plan of engaging an immediate conveyance to the nearest British ship, I well knew that the attempt, without success, would expose me to dangers and difficulties of the most alarming nature. My new found acquaintance might be more early in  
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their enquiries, than was consistent with the plan I had adopted. On learning that I had amused them with a fallacious account, an alarm might be instantly given, which might occasion a pursuit; and a contrary wind, or bad sailing, might throw me into the power of those who would put the most unfavourable construction on my conduct; and perhaps punish me with a rigour by no means proportioned to the nature of the supposed offence. These painful ideas occupied my mind till the appearance of day. I was to receive notice when the proper period arrived for embarkation; and I waited the summons, with equal impatience and anxiety. My baggage, which was contained in a small portmanteau, had been on board the vessel from the time I had engaged her for my passage; and two or three trifling articles which I had retained on shore, were the whole of my incumbrance. About

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half past four, a lad arrived, with intelligence that all was ready for my reception. I delivered my parcel to his care and accompanied him to the adjacent beach, under no small agitation of mind, which it was highly incumbent on me to conceal, by a steady appearance of confidence and serenity.

For the present I lay down my pen, but shall resume it by every convenient opportunity. Situated as I now am, I have full time to be circumstantial in my detail ; an indifferent person might accuse me of prolixity, but I am persuaded you experience a real concern in whatever relates to my interest or happiness. Farewel !

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LETTER

## LETTER XXXVI.

*On board the Emerald, July 3<sup>d</sup>, 1777.*

THE schooner, destined for my conveyance, was navigated by an elderly man, and by a youth about fourteen years of age. With a view to guard against accidents, and to animate my companions to perseverance, I had laid in a supply of refreshments for a voyage much longer than ours promised to be, and we quitted the harbour with a favourable breeze, and the most pleasing prospect of an expeditious passage.

We had not proceeded far on our course, before our attention was divided by the sight of two British frigates. One was stationed in the vicinity of the capes; and

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the other at some distance up the bay, in a situation to observe the movements in York River. The former vessel being nearer to the sea, appeared most eligible for my design, and to that we directed our course accordingly : but scarce had we digested our plan, when the wind suddenly subsided, and a total calm succeeded, during the continuance of which we were unable to make the least progress : about noon, a strong breeze set in directly opposite to our wishes ; we made many tacks, without seeming to obtain the least advantage ; and though, under this disappointment, I suffered extreme agitation, yet had I resolution to affect a perfect serenity, that I might not increase suspicions in the mind of my conductor, who could not avoid occasionally intimating his apprehensions, that he encountered a considerable hazard in the undertaking.

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It is impossible to paint the distress that took possession of my soul, when the impracticability of reaching the ship, at least that evening, was announced in the most decided terms. A strong head-sea operated equally with the wind to baffle our best attempts; the master, therefore, proposed to return into the harbour, and patiently await the event of the succeeding day. To this measure I strongly objected, and recommended altering our course for the other vessel, which I conceived we could easily attain before the approach of night; but was exceedingly mortified to hear him explicitly dissent from my opinion; when no choice was left me but to return to an anchor, in order to take the advantage of a more favourable opportunity.

This determination, so cruelly adverse to my hopes, rendered me almost frantic

with apprehension. I recollected my Annapolitan acquaintance, and the probability that they had excited an alarm, on account of the deception I had practised, from unavoidable necessity. I had also reason to entertain ideas of dangers and difficulties from every other quarter, and I knew not how to stem the torrent of adversity which appeared ready to overwhelm me. We were now before the wind, standing directly for the harbour, to which we were advancing with a very rapid progress: one expedient only remained, which a sudden thought suggested: I had plied my old pilot as freely with the bottle, as was not inconsistent with our safety; and he evidently discovered, in consequence of it, a greater pliability of disposition. I availed myself of the important crisis, and under the plausible pretext of saving time, and being more ready to catch the first breath of a propitious breeze, I proposed running  
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under a cliff to leeward of the town, where the riding was perfectly convenient; and where I trusted we might remain undiscovered, till we could again, with propriety, resume our arduous undertaking.

To my infinite satisfaction, and, indeed, equal surprise, my plan received his immediate, and entire approbation: we were quickly at an anchor behind a point of land, which entirely sheltered us from the view of the adjacent harbour; our little vessel was soon properly secured; the day closed with perfect serenity; and the veteran seaman and his boy, after partaking of such cheer as our stock afforded, calmly resigned themselves to repose, without an anxious idea respecting the operations of the ensuing day.

Contrasted with mine, their situation was indeed most enviable—agitated by conflicting passions! by a continued series of

disappointments, I tamely yielded to the pressure of calamity ! and even dreaded the return of day, which was to expose me to new trials, and probably to additional mortifications : I weakly anticipated a train of impending evils, which I considered as unavoidable.

The night was uncommonly splendid. The beams of the rising moon were beautifully reflected on the noble expanse of water. Nature appeared perfectly serene ; and every surrounding object contributed to elevate the imagination above terrestrial objects ; to infuse a calm indifference with regard to sublunary events ; and to suggest a firm confidence, in the great, beneficent Creator ! Yet, harrassed by the corroding reflections which incessantly intruded, I became insensible to all that could dignify the mind ; the delightful prospect became a dreary waste ; and I no longer

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rances I had so frequently, and so unex-  
pectedly experienced.

I attempted, but in vain, to compose  
myself, and to obtain that rest so essen-  
tial to recruit my agitated spirits, for  
the transactions of the approaching morn-  
ing: but every effort was ineffectual,  
I therefore determined to occupy the te-  
dious interval by an excursion on the adja-  
cent shore. Our vessel lay almost close to  
the beach, and a small canoe, which was  
fastened to our stern, enabled me, in an in-  
stant, to gratify my inclination. My com-  
rades, exempt from every anxiety, were  
in perfect enjoyment of the most sound  
repose; and I landed, without their being  
sensible of the intention I had formed.  
By this time, the moon had nearly at-  
tained her meridian height; the hemi-  
sphere was decorated with unnumbered  
stars,

stars, and not an intervening cloud appeared, to obstruct the view. I had attained a considerable eminence, at no remote distance from the place of our anchorage; and from that situation, I could plainly distinguish the town of Hampton; several vessels lying at the mouth of the harbour; an unlimited prospect of the Chesapeake; and, just rising above the horizon, the British frigate, the object of my most ardent hopes! Such a grand assemblage of interesting objects gradually dissipated the gloom which hung over me; a returning ray of confidence took full possession of my soul; the eventful circumstances of my preceding days, passed rapidly in review before my imagination; I yielded to an instantaneous impulse I found myself unable to resist, and prostrate on the shore, acknowledged the imbecility of human nature, and implored  
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the all-merciful Providence to support me,  
 under every future vicissitude, and direct  
 my wandering steps to the paths of peace  
 and safety.

Supported and elevated by hope, I de-  
 scended, like a new being, to the adjacent  
 beach, and hastened along the shore to pre-  
 pare for the ensuing enterprize. Scarce  
 had I reached the vessel, before the wel-  
 come dawn, and a rising favourable breeze,  
 intimated the expediency of commencing  
 our operations. I awakened my compa-  
 nions, and apprized them of the promising  
 gale:—in an instant we were under way,  
 and stood, with a pleasing prospect of suc-  
 cess, for the frigate, which, during the  
 preceding day, had been the earnest object  
 of our attention.

I now began to conceive, that fortune,  
 weary of persecuting me, was determined  
 to



to make ample compensation for the mortification and disquietude I had sustained ; but I was destined to encounter yet further trials, under circumstances of more imminent danger.

When we were within two leagues of the ship, and at the moment that I was anticipating the happiness which awaited me, the breeze suddenly headed us, and quickly freshened to a perfect gale. Our schooner, unfortunately, was foul ; her sails and rigging in bad condition ; and we had, in the course of our former attempt, fully experienced her inability to work to windward. In this dilemma, a consultation took place, the result of which was, a determination to change our course, for the ship which was stationed up the bay ; and the master gave me great hopes that we should carry our point, without much difficulty, if the wind continued steady in its present

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present quarter. To animate his exertions, and attach him more strongly to my interest, I promised a handsome augmentation to our stipulated agreement; and in return, he assured me, that he would persevere to the utmost, and at all events not shelter in any harbour, unless absolute necessity enforced him.

We had still serious embarrassments to encounter. A heavy cross sea greatly impeded our progress, and frequently broke over the deck in an alarming manner. The wind also became scant, and we barely lay our course. Hope, however, was predominant; I found we gradually gained on our object; my comrades appeared confident of success; and I had a firm persuasion that our expectations would be effectually gratified. Thus circumstanced, I resolved, if possible, to obtain a short repose; the agitation of my mind, and the  
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extreme fatigue I had experienced, had totally exhausted nature ; I therefore summoned resolution to retire to my birth, having previously given directions to be awakened before our arrival at the ship ; or if any unforeseen event should take place, which might require my attention or assistance.

It was about ten in the forenoon, when I threw myself on my pillow, and in a few minutes every anxious idea was obliterated by a profound sleep ; but scarce an hour had elapsed before I was alarmed by a summons upon deck, and in a tone which instantly filled my mind with a dread of impending evil. I sprung instantly from my cot, and in a moment was too perfectly convinced, that I had the strongest reasons to apprehend the most disagreeable consequences. We plainly descried an armed schooner, stretching from the land, with

an evident intention to intercept our passage to the ship, from which we were at that time, about two miles distant; and as she gained rapidly upon us, I began to abandon that confidence which had so recently taken possession of my breast.

Notwithstanding the depression which almost overpowered my faculties, I assumed sufficient resolution to animate my companions, which I seconded, by promises of greater efficacy, than the force of the most eloquent persuasions; and the wind veering a point or two in our favour, to my inexpressible joy, we were within hail of the ship, when the American vessel was also within random shot, where she lay to, in order to watch our motions, and take her measures accordingly.

At this critical period it blew a fresh of wind, accompanied with a heavy swell of the sea; notwithstanding which, we run along-

along-side the frigate with tolerable dexterity; but in attempting to catch a rope, which was flung from the deck, the boy had nearly fallen overboard, and before another could be thrown for our assistance, we had, in spite of every effort, fallen to leeward with astonishing rapidity. On a suspicion that we had acted by design, an officer directed us immediately to bring to, in a manner so commanding that we apprehended a shot would be immediately fired to force compliance. Obedience was only left us; but under our circumstances, obedience was attended with infinite danger; our anchor, though sufficient in smooth water, was by no means adapted for the present occasion, nor was the cable in a condition to bear the violent motion and working of the vessel; in several places it was greatly defective, and in its best state, was only intended for harbours, and occasional mooring places along the

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the shore: necessity enforced submission;  
 the anchor was let go, and for some mo-  
 ments I indulged hope, that a boat would  
 be manned, and sent from the ship, to  
 learn the motives which had brought us  
 into that perilous situation; but in that  
 hope, so reasonably founded, I had quickly  
 the mortification to experience a disappoint-  
 ment, we being again hailed, in an autho-  
 ritative manner, and directed to send on  
 board immediately.

Situated as we were, it was in vain to  
 attempt representing the particulars which  
 gave me a right to expect assistance and  
 protection: we were unfortunately unpro-  
 vided with a speaking trumpet, and the  
 wind setting directly against us, it was im-  
 possible for the voice alone, at the dis-  
 tance we were from each other, to con-  
 vey an articulate sound. Our canoe was of  
 the smallest dimensions, and could not,

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even

even in the most serene weather, contain more than one person, with any degree of safety ; tempestuous as it then was, the most imminent danger awaited the attempt ; to deliberate was, at least, encountering equal hazard : should the vessel drift, it might be thought intentional, and a shot might be attended with fatal effects. I therefore entreated the master to undertake alone, without a moment's delay, the arduous enterprise, while I continued with his servant, to render him every assistance in my power.

Whose situation was most critical, I am utterly unable to determine : scarcely had the canoe put off, before we became sensible that our vessel dragged upon the anchor, which induced my young associate to express the strongest fears, that our cable could not possibly long hold out ; in which case, the least evil which threatened me

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was a tedious, and probably a rigid imprisonment, as the armed schooner continued lying-to, at no remote distance, and in a very short time we must have drifted so far to leeward, that she would have taken us, even within random shot of that vessel to which I fled for refuge.

Under circumstances so peculiarly distressing, I anxiously attended to the motions of the canoe. The veteran seaman acquitted himself with the utmost dexterity. Sometimes, from the height of the sea, he was totally lost to view, which excited a momentary sensation of the most painful nature; but when I saw him rise with a rising wave, hope in consequence exhilarated my spirits. Though the distance was not far, near an hour elapsed, before I beheld him ascending the side of the ship, every minute of which time, in my peculiar situation, appeared insupportably

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tedious. Meanwhile our little bark continued to pitch with great violence, and I was under continual apprehensions, that the strands of our weak cable must, inevitably, yield to such excessive motion. Guess then my transport, when I heard the welcome signal given for hoisting out a boat. My eyes were rivetted on an object which promised a speedy and effectual relief. I saw her launch from the ship, with all the wild enthusiasm of joy! and in a few minutes I had the inexpressible happiness to take an officer by the hand, who delivered a friendly message from his commander, with an obliging invitation to partake of every accommodation his situation could afford.

Thus much shall suffice for the employment of the present day; but I shall quickly resume the pen, that I may conclude a

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narrative which, I am persuaded, you will consider interesting and eventful.

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## L E T T E R XXXVII.

*Emerald, July 5, 1777.*

THE officer who had it in charge to convey me on board his Majesty's ship, acquainted me that she was named the Thames, and was commanded by Captain Tyringham Howe, who had so remarkably distinguished himself in the defence of the Glasgow, when she engaged the American fleet, under the direction of Commodore Hopkins.

Against a force so wonderfully superior, he maintained an animated contest; and, in spite of their utmost exertions, effected

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a gallant retreat into the harbour at Rhode Island. For his steady and intrepid conduct, he was rewarded by a promotion into his present ship, which, I trust, will be only a prelude to some more honourable distinction.

By Captain Howe I was received with a cordiality which exceeded my utmost expectations. I gave him a brief detail of the events which had so happily terminated in placing me under his generous protection; and I entreated that he would render every assistance to the master of the schooner, by whose zealous and determined efforts I had accomplished an escape, which opened the prospect of a speedy restoration to the blessings of domestic society.

In consequence of my requisition, immediate orders were given to secure his vessel beneath the stern of the frigate; and  
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my old pilot, with his faithful adherent,  
was received on board with assurances of  
every accommodation, until a favourable  
opportunity presented itself of prosecuting  
their intentions with entire safety.

In about an hour after my arrival I sat  
down with Captain H——, and several  
officers, to a plain but plentiful dinner; I  
experienced sensations I had long been un-  
accustomed to—my mind was exhilarated  
with joy and gratitude—I acknowledged  
the intervention of an all-directing Provi-  
dence—and I enjoyed a rapid succession of  
these delightful ideas, which indicated a  
reverse of fortune, and an ample compen-  
sation for past solitudes.

On my name being occasionally menti-  
oned, it caught the attention of the first  
lieutenant, who, to my great astonishment,  
discovered a knowledge of my former situ-  
ation. He particularly enquired concern-

ing the welfare of my dearest wife and for, and assured me, with uncommon warmth, that every gentleman belonging to that [ ship had, even previous to the hope of any personal acquaintance, conceived sentiments highly advantageous to my character and my principles. Perceiving every countenance bore convincing testimony to the truth of such pleasing assertions, I was lost in amazement ; and could not penetrate into the mystery which had so strangely secured to me the approbation and esteem of persons to whom I conceived I was totally unknown. I therefore entreated an immediate explanation, that I might learn how to render my grateful acknowledgments, and to approve myself deserving such an unexpected prepossession in my behalf.

Mr. R——, the gentleman who had so kindly expressed himself in my favour,  
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then acquainted me that “ a few weeks  
 “ since, the Thames had taken an Ame-  
 “ rican vessel bound to a French island, on  
 “ board of which were a number of let-  
 “ ters, which had been examined, with a  
 “ view to obtain information ; that in per-  
 “ forming this duty they had met with  
 “ two under my signature, which had im-  
 “ pressed them so strongly in my behalf,  
 “ that it was resolved to retain them till  
 “ an opportunity offered for their safe con-  
 “ veyance. Accordingly on the arrival of  
 “ the ship at New York, they had been  
 “ intrusted to the care of a German offi-  
 “ cer, with particular injunctions to de-  
 “ liver them immediately on the comple-  
 “ tion of his voyage \*.”—Mr. R——  
 concluded by observing that, “ the instant

\* Mr. R—— inclosed the intercepted letters, in a very elegant and expressive epistle from himself ; and they were punctually delivered. The author is, at this time, happy in including Captain R—— amongst his best and most valuable friends.

my

my name was mentioned, he entertained sanguine hopes that I was the person in whose cause they had been so strongly interested; and on finding those hopes so agreeably confirmed, he was persuaded every gentleman on board that ship rejoiced in the unexpected opportunity of affording protection and assistance, where attachment operated so forcibly with duty to command their best exertions.

Had I not instantly conceived sentiments of regard for this worthy man, I must have been insensible to every generous, every grateful impression.—I beheld him with a mixture of reverence and love—and tears—heart-felt tears—proclaimed the genuine, the fervent acknowledgments of my soul.

On board the Thames I continued until the 27th, experiencing from Captain H—and the gentlemen under his command,  
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the most obliging attention and hospitality. But that ship being stationed a considerable distance up the bay, I became anxious for a removal into the Emerald, which lay in the vicinity of the capes, whose commander consequently had it more in his power to forward the intentions of those whose circumstances rendered it expedient to visit the city of New York.

Accordingly on the above day, an officer in an armed vessel having arrived on some duty from the commodore, I determined to embrace the opportunity of his return, that I might obtain a situation nearer to the object of my hopes.

It was with difficulty I obtained the consent of Captain H——, and his benevolent officers, to this necessary measure. They suggested the probability of being speedily relieved, and the pleasure they should receive in conveying me to my desired



fired haven. Though I felt the full force of such persuasions, yet I combated their friendly arguments with reasons so justly founded, that my hospitable protectors yielded reluctantly to their force ; and with their sincere prayers for the completion of all my pursuits, I bade them farewell ; and early on the following day, was received on board the Emerald with great attention and politeness.

I have now brought you to my present situation, where I experience every proof of regard and humanity. Since the commencement of this contest, I have repeatedly heard it asserted, that the commanders of his Majesty's ships consider protection rather as an act of necessity than inclination ; and that those loyalists who had, with infinite hazard, effected an escape from the adverse party, had been treated by them, on application for refuge, with  
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a distance and haughtiness, that aggravated their sufferings, and almost alienated their sentiments of allegiance. I verily believe the assertion, in every instance, most unjustly founded; propagated by malice, and by republican artifice. On board the Emerald are several gentlemen under similar circumstances with myself; all equally strangers to our benefactors, we are all equally treated as friends and brethren. Captain Caldwell, who is the commodore on the station, is continually gaining on our esteem by the affability of his manners; his officers appear no less anxious to promote our entire satisfaction; and we meet with every accommodation our situation can possibly obtain. But kindly and humanely treated as I am, happiness is not yet my portion; my thoughts are anxiously turned towards you and our dearest boy, and I consider every hour a tedious delay, till I obtain information of your health and  
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welfare. Your letters will probably determine my future conduct. I trust I shall soon rejoin you in England ; or by a pleasing change in the political system, be enabled once more to bid you welcome to the continent of America. May heaven grant us a speedy re-union ; and may we pass the residue of our days, without again experiencing the insupportable anxiety of separation.

*New York, July 19, 1777.*

I have only a few minutes to inform you, that yesterday I was safely landed in this city, and met with the most cordial reception from our invaluable friends.

I found but one letter from my dearest wife, dated on the 26th of April, and 1st of May last. On obtaining intelligence of your welfare, my joy was inexpressible. More than sixteen tedious months had elapsed,

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elapsed, since the date of your last: many of your epistles have undoubtedly miscarried: mine to you, I trust, have been more fortunate. During the remainder of our separation, our correspondence will be certain. I am now free, unawed, unrestrained.—I feel myself enlarged; and I will write, speak, and act, as becomes a zealous adherent to the British constitution.

In my next I will give you the particulars of my expedition hither; of my present situation; and probably some idea of my future intentions; but as the ship which is to convey this is preparing to sail, I must postpone further information.

Opportunities of writing from this place very frequently offer: expect therefore to hear from me again speedily. My voluminous detail will be delivered to you by Mr. S——, a worthy young man, and a refugee

refugee from Maryland. To him I refer you for an account of your friends in that province, which he quitted but a few days since.—Adieu.

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## L E T T E R    XXXVIII.

*New York, Aug. 1, 1777.*

**M**Y last contained a circumstantial detail from the day of my quitting Maryland, to that of my reception on board the Emerald frigate. I shall now continue my narrative to the time of my arrival in this city.

On the tenth of July, at day break, several vessels were distinguished, which had passed us by favour of the night, and were stretching to the eastward with a croud of canvas. In an instant we weighed anchor, and stood out to sea. The Senegal

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## XXXVIII.

Aug. 1, 1777.

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negal sloop of war, and an armed brig,  
that were stationed off Cape Charles, join-  
ed us in the chase; and before noon we  
took three large sloops and two schooners  
laden with tobacco, flour, and various va-  
luable commodities for the French islands.

The capture of these vessels was a for-  
tunate event to me, and to those who were  
under similar circumstances, it being de-  
termined to send the prizes immediately to  
New York, under convoy of the Senegal,  
commanded by Captain Molloy.

On Friday the eleventh, Captain C—  
introduced two gentlemen, who had es-  
caped from Virginia, and myself, to the  
commander of the Senegal, and recom-  
mended us strongly to his kind attention.  
On board this ship we experienced every  
proof of hospitality and regard during the  
passage to New York, where, on the 18th,  
we were safely landed.

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On entering the Narrows, my mind was forcibly struck with the splendid appearance of a numerous, and formidable equipment. A grand fleet, attended with innumerable transports, arranged in their several divisions, lay at anchor off Staten Island. The island itself was covered with troops ready for embarkation, and every appearance indicated an expedition of the most decisive consequence. I could not avoid contemplating, with astonishment, the power—the apparently irresistible power—of the parent state; and, in consequence, equal astonishment took possession of my mind, when I reflected how ineffectual, to every salutary purpose, the most determined efforts had hitherto been.

Mr. and Mrs. C—— insist on my journeying beneath their friendly roof, until some plan is adopted for a permanent situ-

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 avoidable events have so long detained me  
 from experiencing their humanity and af-  
 fection.

Mr. C—— is no longer Commissary Ge-  
 neral, having resigned that lucrative office  
 with the greatest credit to his abilities and  
 reputation; and is now Auditor General  
 of accompts, a station of equal honour,  
 but inferior in point of emolument: it is,  
 however, attended with much less fatigue.

This alteration, though desirable to him,  
 is particularly unfavourable to me. His  
 patronage as Commissary General was very  
 extensive; and his inclination corresponded  
 with his power to render me essential ser-  
 vice. He has just acquainted me that he  
 had, with a view to my interest, deferred  
 for some time the filling up a profitable  
 appointment; but learning that I had  
 taken my passage by way of the West In-

dies, he had given up all hopes of seeing me in New York; and had, therefore, previous to his resignation, disposed of the employment to a gentleman who will, in all probability, acquire thereby an ample provision, should the war be continued for any length of time.

Thus it appears, that disappointment is still to destroy our hopes of prosperity. But it is folly—nay, it is criminal to indulge an idea of discontent. We have sufficient motives to nourish the most grateful acknowledgments: we will, therefore, look forward with increasing confidence, and trust to heaven alone for the disposal of every future concern.

It is impossible not to receive a more magnificent appearance than was exhibited by the departure of the grand fleet, which on the 23d of last month, weighed anchor, and stood to the eastward with a  
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favourable breeze. Whither they are bound is to the public an impenetrable secret; but if the consequences are what might be expected from the apparent strength of the armament, surely the day is at hand which will happily terminate the complicated miseries of this unnatural war.

There are those who appear sanguine enough to believe, that the present campaign will assuredly prove decisive, and restore the ancient government. It is certain that much may be expected from the operations of the formidable force under the command of Lord and General Howe; and the utmost anxiety and impatience prevail for intelligence of their destination and proceedings.

Our worthy friend has a delightful situation on the banks of the East River, about five miles distant from New York, where he principally resides during the

summer. In this retirement I have a comfortable apartment, where I enjoy rational society, and an occasional retreat from the active scenes of military arrangements.

*Wednesday, 6th Aug.*

I have this instant heard of a vessel preparing to sail for Liverpool; I must therefore postpone an account of New York, and its environs, to a future opportunity. Every sail that I behold will excite the strongest emotions of expectation. Surely I shall now receive frequent accounts of your health and welfare.

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L E T T E R    XXXIX.

*York Island, Aug. 16, 1777.*

**H**APPY beneath this hospitable roof,  
I seldom visit the crowded city. At  
this season, the heat of the weather in town,

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Wednesday, 6th Aug.

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## XXXIX.

and, Aug. 16, 1777.

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occasioned by the confined air, and the re-  
flection of the sun, is scarcely supportable.

We are situated opposite to a fertile and  
beautiful part of Long Island. Vessels of  
every denomination are continually in view;  
and a variety of pleasing and interesting  
objects contribute to decorate the scene,  
and to render our retirement truly delec-  
table.

In the vicinity of our habitation, is a  
very dangerous and narrow passage of the  
river, the sight of which excites ideas of  
greater terror than the celebrated poetical  
descriptions of Scylla and Charybdis. The  
tide runs with astonishing rapidity, and in  
various currents, only one of which will  
carry a vessel through, with any degree of  
safety; for on one side there is a shoal of  
rocks that barely make their appearance  
above the water; and on the other, a dread-  
ful vortex, occasioned by a rock several feet

beneath the surface, which attracts and engulphs every object that approaches it. At particular periods of the tide, this tremendous whirlpool appears to boil like foaming cauldrons, accompanied with a hollow terrific sound, which impresses the most determined mind with apprehensions of inevitable destruction. The breadth of the river at this place is nearly half a mile, but that of the channel does not exceed eighty yards. This passage is only practicable at, and near the height of tide; at any other time it would be extreme rashness to attempt it; and under the most favourable circumstances, the greatest knowledge and dexterity are requisite in the navigation.

Attended by some skilful boatmen, I had the curiosity to shoot this formidable gulf, which has, with some degree of propriety, obtained the appellation of *Hell-Gate*.



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boatmen, I is formidable degree of pro- tion of Hell- Gate.

*Gate.* The velocity of our motion was, indeed, beyond credibility, through a wonderfully agitated stream, accompanied with such dreadful roarings that, confident as I was in the skill of my conductors, I heartily repented the temerity of the undertaking, and beheld, in imagination, the invisible boundary "from which no traveller returns."

York Island extends to Kingsbridge, about fourteen miles distant from the city; where it is joined to the continent by a small wooden bridge. The narrow deep river, which runs at this place, is a sufficient security against sudden incursions; and the works that are thrown up are so exceedingly strong, and in such commanding situations, as effectually to exclude the idea of a regular attack.

The capital of this province is situated on the southern extremity of the island:  
on

on one side runs the north, and on the other the east river ; on the latter of which, on account of the harbour, the city is principally built. In several streets, trees are regularly planted, which afford a grateful shelter during the intense heat of the summer. The buildings are generally of brick, and many are erected in a style of elegance. The situation is said to be perfectly healthful, but fresh water is so very scarce, that the purchase of this essential article is attended with a considerable expense.

Notwithstanding the war, New York is plentifully supplied from Long Island with provisions of all kinds. It must, however, be confessed, that almost every article bears an exorbitant price, when compared with that of former happy times. Both the north and east rivers abound with a great variety of excellent fish. Lobsters, of a prodigious size, were, till of late, caught

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caught in vast numbers, but it is a fact,  
 surprising as it may appear, that, since the  
 late incessant cannonading, they have en-  
 tirely forsaken the coast, not one having  
 been taken, or seen, since the commence-  
 ment of hostilities.

Into this place and neighbourhood, lob-  
 sters were introduced by accident; the  
 province having been formerly supplied  
 with them by the fishermen of New Eng-  
 land, who brought them in well-boats, one  
 of which, in passing Hell-Gate, striking  
 against a rock, separated, and the lobsters,  
 which escaped into their proper element,  
 multiplied so exceedingly, that in a short  
 time the markets were amply and reason-  
 ably supplied.

Previous to the commencement of this un-  
 happy war, New York was a flourishing, po-  
 pulous, and beautiful town. But immedi-  
 ately on the British troops taking possession,  
 it

it was set on fire by some desperate incendiaries, and near a third part destroyed, in spite of the utmost exertions to prevent the spreading conflagration. The flames, at the same instant, burst out in a variety of places, which rendered it evident, that this execrable deed was perpetrated from a principle of ill-directed zeal, in order to preclude the royal army from a possibility of maintaining, with the least degree of comfort, their important acquisitions.

Notwithstanding the late devastation, there are still many elegant edifices remaining, which would reflect credit on any metropolis in Europe. The new church is a noble structure: the college is spacious and convenient: the barracks are well built, and well accommodated. The Dutch churches, with several places of worship for Protestants of different persuasions, reflect great credit on the genius of their architects;

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dominates in this city, impresses the mind  
with an idea of neatness and taste.

The numerous fortifications thrown up  
by the American troops in the vicinity of  
the capital, appear to be constructed with  
judgment and attention. Why they were  
so precipitately abandoned is difficult to  
ascertain: indeed the whole island forms a  
continued chain of batteries and intrench-  
ments, which seemed to indicate the most  
resolute opposition.

I have lately made an excursion to Long  
Island, and was highly entertained in my  
progress through a rich, beautiful, and  
well cultivated country. At a village named  
Flatbush, I met with several provincial  
officers belonging to the Maryland batta-  
lions, who had been taken in different ac-  
tions, and were prisoners on parole; and  
it was with real satisfaction I recognized  
some

some of my old acquaintance, and answered their respective interrogatories relative to their friends and connexions in that province.

I have, in the course of my excursions, traversed the whole of York Island, and have even attended the relief of the piquet guard without Kingsbridge, which is the advanced post of the British army. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the interesting and noble objects which, in every direction, strike the curious and inquisitive eye. From the city of New York, to the extent of the island, we beheld a regular continuation of formidable intrenchments. The troops appear animated in the service; and, surely, if their operations are properly conducted, the event cannot but effectually re-establish our ancient happy constitution on a permanent foundation.

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I frequently partake of a military dinner, and have been hospitably entertained by the officers of different corps. As I have no real employment to occupy my time, I often change the scene. Variety of objects tends to prevent the intrusion of painful reflections; yet, in spite of my best efforts, I am almost unable to stem the tide of sorrow, when past blessings rise up, like phantoms, to my view, and irresistably remind me, "that such things were, and that I once was happy."

I have written by Mr. S—— to Sir Robert Eden, and have transmitted him a minute detail of the political state of Maryland. I have represented leading characters with truth and impartiality; and have endeavoured to convey a competent idea of the military arrangements, and legislative dispositions which have taken place in consequence of the new system of government.

vernment. He will, probably, give you his sentiments on the subject of my communications.—This I can safely aver, that I have delineated circumstances in their true light, “nor set down aught in malice.”

*4th September.*

I am somewhat relieved from the anxiety I have experienced. Several letters mention the departure of a fleet for this port, under convoy of the Bristol, which left England previous to the sailing of the packet; consequently they may be hourly expected: by that opportunity I shall, assuredly, receive intimation of your health and welfare.

We have certain advice, that our formidable armament has proceeded up the Chesapeake, and that the troops are landed, in high spirits, near the head of Elk. My friend Captain H——, who has been here  
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some time, expects sailing orders every mi-  
nute, and solicits me to accompany him  
on the cruize. Should he be directed to  
Maryland, I have resolved to attend him ;  
for if we obtain possession of that province,  
my duty and my interest will, undoubted-  
ly, require my immediate presence. But  
to say truth, I cannot possibly adopt any  
plan, with the least satisfaction, until I  
procure information how it is with you,  
and our dearest boy.

6th September,

It is confidently reported, that the city  
of Annapolis, the scene of our former hap-  
piness and prosperity, is, by the inevitable  
calamity of war, reduced to ashes. I need  
not observe, that very many, whom we  
have cause to love and esteem, will most  
materially suffer in consequence of this un-  
fortunate event. I am extremely anxious,

F f

to

to learn the fate of our loyal friends who were necessitated, by circumstances, to remain in that place, and in the neighbourhood. I think it probable, that on the appearance of the British fleet, the adherents to government were compelled to retire to the interior country.

Captain H—— has not yet learned his destination, but should he proceed to the Chesapeake, it is my fixed intention to accompany him; by which means I shall obtain the knowledge of many material circumstances, which it may be necessary to impart to our suffering brethren in England.

The provincials have lately made an attack on Staten Island, where, during the first confusion, they burned some stores, and took a few prisoners; but they have paid severely for the attempt. The alarm instantly reached an adjacent post, and be-

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fore they could effect a retreat they were vigorously attacked. About two hundred fell in the action, and near three hundred surrendered to the British detachment. Another party landed about the same time on Long Island, but on the appearance of opposition, quitted it with precipitation. A strong body likewise advanced within sight of our lines at Kingsbridge, but retired on the approach of our light infantry. From these movements there is reason to believe, that an attack was meditated on New York, in the absence of our grand army; but, happily, a sufficient force is left to baffle the best concerted attempt.

13th September.

I have, impatiently, expected particulars relative to Annapolis; but, as nothing further is yet circulated, I am inclined to indulge hope that the account which was propagated is without foundation.

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Nothing of real importance has yet transpired from Lord Howe and the general; which is rather extraordinary, as we have had certain information of our troops having effected a landing at the head of the Chesapeake; and that they were in the vicinity of the American army.

A report is circulated, that General Burgoyne has totally defeated the northern army, under the command of General Gates. If true—the consequences must be glorious and decisive.

The Bristol, and her convoy, are hourly expected—but by no one with more impatience than by your faithful, &c.

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LET. XXXIX.

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LET. XL.

FROM AMERICA.

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## L E T T E R XL.

*New York, Sept. 20, 1777.*

**W**E have intelligence of the most in-  
teresting and pleasing nature. It  
is said that General Washington has suf-  
fered a total defeat in the neighbourhood  
of Philadelphia. Should this report, which  
is generally credited, be well founded, this  
destructive war will surely be quickly ter-  
minated.

I am happy to inform you, that the ac-  
count respecting Annapolis was totally  
without foundation. Hitherto Maryland  
has not experienced the actual scourge of  
war: may the sweet return of peace ex-  
empt her from participating in the almost  
general calamity.

On the appearance of the British fleet  
in the Chesapeake, the loyalists throughout

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that

that province were obliged to retire to a remote distance from navigable waters. There is certainly reason to credit this report, as I have only heard of two gentlemen who have eluded the vigilance of the ruling powers, and joined the royal army in their passage up the bay.

*1st October.*

The Thames is sailed for the Chesapeak. I have been dissuaded from accompanying Captain H—— and my friends on board that ship, by the earnest advice of Mr. C—— who justly observed, “ that as our troops “ had not made any descent on the western shore of Maryland, I could not render any essential service to myself, or “ others, by an excursion thither.” But another reason more forcibly operates to detain me in my present situation—the constant anxiety I experience to obtain intelligence

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1st October.

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telligence relative to the welfare of my  
dearest wife and son.

8th October.

On Saturday last arrived the packet.  
Your letters, which informed me that  
you were well and happy, relieved my  
mind from a most painful and tedious state  
of disquietude.

On the same day an expedition took place  
under the command of Sir Henry Clinton,  
and commodore Hotham. Their destina-  
tion was up the North River; and this in-  
stant we have received the particulars of  
their operations. Fort Montgomery, and  
Fort Clinton, have been taken by storm;  
and in the capture of these places, it was  
doubtful whether bravery or humanity was  
most predominant.

Count Gabrouski, a young Polish no-  
bleman, who arrived in the late fleet from

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England, served as a volunteer in this expedition; and in those ranks, where every individual displayed the utmost heroism, his distinguished coolness and intrepidity, attracted universal admiration. In rushing forward to the enemy's works, against a heavy and well directed fire, he received many wounds, and fell at the foot of their intrenchments. His death was not immediate;—he lived to rejoice in victory! The undaunted deportment of the British grenadiers excited his applause, even in the moment of dissolution. He spoke with rapture of that enthusiastic ardour which animated the whole as one body; and he desired that his remains might be deposited on the memorable spot, where his gallant associates had gained such honor. It is said, he entreated Lord Rawdon, in a very handsome compliment, to wear that sword which he had so recently drawn in support of the claims of Britain; and, then



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then paid the inevitable debt, with that intrepidity of spirit which determined his conduct, and led him forward to his fate.

It is expected the success which has attended this expedition, will greatly facilitate the operations of General Burgoyne, who, after having surmounted infinite dangers and difficulties, has certainly advanced into the neighbourhood of Albany.

Such variety of contradictory reports are daily circulated relative to the real situation of the army under his command, that at present all is mere conjecture, without any certain ground on which to erect hope, or admit despondency. There are those who conceive, that General Howe ought to have conducted his first efforts, to complete a junction with the northern army; and then to have directed the united force of the British arms, wherever their exertions

exertions would have been most effectual. But without due information of those important facts, that influence the proceedings of our commanders, it is illiberal and ungenerous, to censure or condemn. The best concerted plans are frequently defective in execution; and the seeming hand of chance often leads to success the most brilliant and decisive.

1<sup>st</sup> November.

At length *suspense* is determined by *certainty*. I am preparing for my immediate—perhaps final—departure from America. The unfavourable aspect of public affairs compels me to this necessary measure; and I must, in consequence, encounter the inconveniences of a winter's passage. But the predominant idea of being speedily restored to the society of a beloved wife and son, will smooth the rugged billows, and dissipate

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General Burgoyne has been necessitated  
to surrender himself with his army. The  
particulars of this unhappy, unexpected  
event, are not yet public; but it is strongly  
asserted, that the want of provisions, and  
not the amazing superiority of the enemy,  
obliged our gallant general to submit to  
the inevitable fate of war.

An universal dejection has followed:  
every loyal countenance bears the most  
evident impressions of sorrow and disap-  
pointment. The exaltation of our adver-  
saries is doubtless in full proportion to  
our mortification: for certainly this im-  
portant success will animate their efforts  
in the prosecution of the war; give credit  
and strength to their political negotiations,  
and render dubious the event of a contest,  
which

which appeared rapidly approaching to a desirable issue.

The duty which fell to the share of General Burgoyne, was infinitely more hazardous than the allotment of our other commanders ; and, I am sorry to observe, it is the prevailing opinion, that there has been some neglect in the proper arrangements necessary to have secured success. But leaving these matters which are too high for me, and enter not within my limited sphere of action, I shall confine my observations to domestic concerns.

A fleet is expected to sail from this place for Cork in about fourteen days, in which I have taken my passage on board a convenient vessel. An officer, and his lady, with whom I am intimately acquainted, bear me company in the voyage ; so that before the conclusion of the year, I trust we shall be re-united. May we  
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LETT. XL.  
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never again experience the anxiety and for-  
row of separation.

My worthy friend, under whose hos-  
pitable roof I have experienced every en-  
gaging mark of disinterested attachment,  
is determined, if possible, to increase my  
sense of the obligations I am under to  
him. Though comparative plenty abounds  
in this garrison, yet almost every needful  
article bears so exorbitant a price, that  
in the present reduced state of my finan-  
ces, my proportion of stores for the pas-  
sage to Europe, would require a greater  
expenditure than I am well able to support.  
Mr. C—— has, therefore, generously in-  
sisted on supplying me with every requi-  
site; so that unless our voyage should be  
uncommonly tedious, I shall be enabled,  
by his bounty, to fare sumptuously every  
day. Perhaps, within the extensive cir-  
cuit of the British dominions, there is not  
a cha-

a character more universally beloved, or respected, than the exalted man to whom I am so deeply indebted \*.

It is adviseable to guard against every possible accident. Our ship may be separated

\* This worthy personage was suddenly translated to a better state on the 27th of November, 1778. At that awful moment he was surrounded by some valued friends, and the instant before his dissolution, he appeared in the full possession of health and cheerfulness. The author, on receiving intelligence of this fatal event, addressed the following letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, which was inserted in that paper, February 11, 1779.

“ SIR,

“ Through the channel of your extensive and impartial paper, permit me to offer a just tribute to the memory of an invaluable man, whose death will long be pathetically lamented, and whose innumerable virtues endeared him, even in the midst of hostile commotions, to the love and veneration of contending parties.

“ Daniel Chamier, Esq; late Auditor General to the British army in America, resided many years in the province of Maryland, and in the discharge of various important offices, was particularly distinguished as a faithful

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we shall probably be detained in some  
American port until an exchange takes  
place;

faithful servant to the public, and a valuable member of  
society.

“ On his quitting that government, to act in an ho-  
nourable department in the service of the Crown, even  
the leaders in the present controversy spoke of him in  
terms of the highest veneration: they were assured, that  
the uncommon benevolence of his disposition would ex-  
tend to every person, independent of political tenets,  
who might be reduced by the vicissitudes of war, to im-  
plore his generous assistance.

“ When hostilities unhappily commenced between  
the parent state and her misguided colonies, this great!  
this worthy man! then exerted himself in a more ex-  
alted sphere! The loyalist, who abandoned his family  
and property, compelled by the rigid hand of persecution,  
and who preferred his integrity to every inducement of  
avarice or ambition, found in him a sympathizing bene-  
factor, by whom he was hospitably received, his necessi-  
ties amply supplied, and every relief extended that his  
fortune or influence could possibly afford.

“ The prisoner experienced no less the effects of his  
unlimited compassion: amongst those who were cap-  
tured

place ; I must entreat you to continue writing, by every opportunity, to New York, that at least a chance may be afforded me to hear of your welfare.

tured by the incidents of war, many were the husbands, the sons, and friends of them with whom he had been formerly connected. By his interest he procured them particular indulgences ; he advanced considerable sums for their immediate occasions, and exerted every effort to alleviate the idea of captivity, and render them comfortable in their peculiar situations. In a word, the utmost hospitality marked the whole of his conduct, and the innate goodness of his heart beamed forth in every action.

“ Such was the man for whom the prayers of multitudes were fervently offered ; but, alas ! the will of heaven suddenly removed him from this terrestrial state, to receive an eternal recompense for his faithful discharge of every relative duty.

“ To enter fully into the character of this very excellent person, would greatly exceed my abilities, and lead me into a field of prolixity. Suffice it to say, that in him his sovereign has lost a most loyal animated subject ; his country an invaluable citizen ; his wife a tender indulgent husband ; and the writer of this letter (with numbers who have felt the miseries of this unnatural contention) has lost the most faithful affectionate friend ! the most generous humane benefactor ! ”

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Should I have the happiness to arrive safe at Cork, I shall immediately send you intelligence, with an account of the course I intend to pursue, in order to complete my voyage. But it is most probable I shall proceed directly to Bristol, which will be less expensive than by way of Dublin; and by which means I may be enabled to pay a melancholy visit to the monument of my once much beloved Powell! I shall also have the satisfaction to renew a personal connexion with those valued friends, who were solemn spectators of the concluding scene of that celebrated actor's life, which so strongly evinced the force of the ruling passion, even under the awful circumstances of death \*.

Adieu. Be constantly prepared for my reception, and believe me unalterably yours.

\* See Letter II.

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L E T.

## L E T T E R XLI.

*Cork, Dec. 16, 1777.*

**T**HANKS to Almighty God I am safely arrived at my desired port, after a pleasant and expeditious passage.

On the 15th of November I took an affectionate leave of our generous hospitable friends; on the 18th we quitted the coast; on the 13th instant we struck soundings; and yesterday, in the evening, landed at a village named Passage; took post horses, and were set down in this city in time to procure a good supper, and convenient lodging.

The hurry and bustle of this place bears some resemblance to our great metropolis. The streets are crowded with busy multitudes; many of the shops have a handsome

## XLI.

Dec. 16, 1777.

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some appearance; and the habitations of the principal merchants, sufficiently indicate their wealth and commercial importance. The incredible quantities of provisions, which are preparing for exportation, cannot but excite the highest ideas of the trade and consequence of this flourishing port. The variety of canals, bridges, and wharfs, are likewise deserving of admiration. By their canals, ships of considerable burden are laden at the merchant's doors; and the wharfs, which are convenient and extensive, are covered with innumerable commodities, principally for the supply of the army and navy in America.

By my friend Mr. C——, I was favoured with a letter of introduction to Mr. B——, a merchant of great respectability in this port; from whom I have received a frank and general invitation to his table,

G g 2

during

during the time that inclination or necessity may detain me in this city.

There are few persons in whom the passion of curiosity is more predominant than in myself; and the environs of Cork promise abundant gratification to an inquisitive mind; but as the first object of my pursuit relates to you, and to our dearest boy, I have no wish for an opportunity to make any excursion, foreign to the thoughts that engross my mind in my present situation.

*Passage, Dec. 25.*

Yesterday I took leave of Cork, and came to this place in order to embark for Bristol. About noon we expect to sail.

I shall quit Ireland with deep impressions of gratitude. The entertainment I have experienced, greatly exceeds the high ideas I had been taught to form of Irish hospitality. May they continue to enjoy every  
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bleffing which liberty, industry, and prof-  
perity can afford.

I shall leave this to be forwarded by  
the post. Should a favourable gale crown  
my wishes, it is possible—nay, proba-  
ble—that I may be happily re-united to  
my dearest partner, before she will receive  
this fervent assurance of my unalterable  
attachment. The hour—the long ex-  
pected hour—is at hand, which will re-  
store to us the blessings of domestic fel-  
city. Adieu.

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## L E T T E R XLII.

*Ilfracomb, Devon, 27th Dec.*

**I** AM safely landed on my native shore.  
The post departs for London within  
an hour: I gladly embrace the opportu-  
nity

nity to give you an account of my safe arrival, and explain the circumstances which occasioned an alteration in my intended route.

I embarked at Passage on Christmas-day, but the wind would not permit us to sail till the ensuing morning. From thence to the isle of Lundy we had a prodigious run, having accomplished near fifty leagues in about twenty-four hours. The wind then became contrary, and we were happy to gain this harbour, where the master of the vessel means to await an alteration of weather in his favour.

The distance from this place to Bristol is reckoned twenty-five leagues; but on account of the strong tides which prevail in this channel, short as the passage is, it cannot well be attempted against an adverse wind; and as present appearances do not indicate a speedy change, I have  
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ing the voyage, and shall, therefore, de-  
part by land, the instant my baggage has  
passed the necessary examination.

When you receive your husband to your  
faithful arms, let every anxious idea be  
excluded—let us unite in recounting past  
deliverances, and be thus animated to look  
forward with gratitude and confidence. Our  
disappointments and our misfortunes have  
originated from inevitable causes; and if  
adversity should still continue to oppose  
our best endeavours, we must derive con-  
solation from reflecting that we have acted  
consistent with the sentiments which we  
professed, and with a conscientious regard  
to the duties of that station in which Pro-  
vidence had placed us, always remember-  
ing that though

“ ’Tis not in mortals to command success,

“ They may do more——DESERVE IT.”

F I N I S.